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THE TIMES

No. 64,481

WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 4 1992

45p

Confident Clinton hails the 'great new future'

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER IN WASHINGTON

MORE than a hundred million Americans turned out to vote for a new president yesterday, inspiring Bill Clinton to celebrate "a new future for the greatest country in the history of the human race".

Officials across the country reported long queues as record numbers cast their votes, with the total passing the 100 million mark for the first time. Five eve of election polls all pointed to the Arkansas governor coasting comfortably to victory to become the first Democrat to win the White House since 1976 and the first president from the post-second world war generation.

However, Ross Perot's presence on the ballot paper meant he was likely to be the first president since 1968 to be elected with less than half of the popular vote.

After one of the nastiest campaigns ever, the candidates' final appeals to the electorate were tinged with emotion. Mr Clinton completed his marathon campaign with a rally in Colorado shortly after dawn yesterday, introducing his wife, Hillary, as "the next First Lady".

Mr Bush arrived to a rapturous welcome in his home city of Houston on Monday night after the last full day's campaigning of his political career. He insisted he was on the verge of "the biggest political comeback in American political history", adding: "I have a feeling the gods are smiling upon us and I know we are going to win." But his mood during the six-state swing, at times wistful, at others bitter — belied his words and the Republican Senate candidates in Pennsylvania and Ohio conspicuously failed to attend his rallies.

The 68-year-old president said 1992 had been "the most unpleasant year of my life" and "the dirtiest campaign I've ever seen" — although most neutral observers would say that his campaign was primarily responsible for that. He damned the reporting of the campaign as "the most biased year in the history of presidential politics".

His voice cracked as he recalled Operation Desert Storm, defying the media to distort an effort so "decent and noble". He talked of the collapse of communism and the start of the Middle East peace talks, and boasted: "We've managed a world change of almost biblical proportions." He also spoke of "the countless crises that never occurred" on his watch.

"We simply cannot take a risk on Governor Clinton," he declared at one point. He told Americans that "your single voice will echo down the



Back to the future: Mr Clinton and his wife Hillary acknowledging the cheers of their supporters at a last-minute rally in McAllen, Texas

corridor of time, and help shape the entire future of this most blessed, sacred nation that the world has never known... only, consciences should be your guide."

Yesterday morning, Mr Bush went jogging before voting in Houston and gave a thumbs up sign when asked about his chances.

Mr Clinton's Colorado rally completed a 30-hour, 4,100-mile, nine-state tour of America that had him addressing thousands of supporters in Fort Worth, Texas, shortly after 1 a.m. and thousands more in Albuquerque, New Mexico, at 3 a.m. His message was one of renewal. "Think of John Kennedy's unrestrained faith in the future of America," he exhorted in his ruin of a voice. "I'll try to unite us all, try to stop the division by race, by



Page 2: Mud on the road to the White House — along the campaign trail, Ross Perot: prophet or charlatan?
Page 3: The man from nowhere but Hope: how Bill Clinton rose to the top. Al Gore, robot turned pit-bull. And Oxford University raises a glass
Page 4: America may resemble a throwback to 1980, but much has changed. Plus the campaign in cartoons

region, by age, by gender. We're going up together. It won't be easy but we can do it." This was "a big election that will shape the future of your country well into the next generation, well into the next century".

Just before noon, Mr Clinton returned home to Little Rock, Arkansas, to vote. Taking his daughter, Chelsea, with him to the polling booth, he declared: "Whatever happens, we've done what we could to make the best case for change."

the only one to finish flatly. He attracted barely 4,000 followers to a 17,000-seat stadium in his hometown of Dallas. The Texan billionaire has nevertheless had a profound impact on the election and though fading in the polls, looked likely to win at least as many votes as George Wallace's 13.5 per cent in 1968. Mr Perot finished as he began, with a \$3 million, two-hour avalanche of advertising on Monday night.

The Republican party was also striving to fend off defeats in yesterday's congressional and gubernatorial elections. A third of the Senate seats were being contested, all the 435 House seats, and 12 state governorships.

MacSharry hints at trade deal

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER IN WASHINGTON

RAY MacSharry, the EC agriculture commissioner, said yesterday that he was confident he would reach agreement with Edward Madigan, the US agriculture secretary, before the day was out on a bitter dispute over EC oilseed subsidies. The row has threatened to cause a trans-Atlantic trade war.

US officials were more cautious. One said: "It is too early to tell whether or not we have a breakthrough." The Bush administration had declared that today is the deadline for reaching an agreement. Without one it plans to announce the first tranche of tariffs on EC exports, probably triggering European retaliation.

House prices fall by 2.7%

BY LINDSAY COOK

HOUSE prices fell by 2.7 per cent last month, according to the Nationwide Building Society. Since the end of August they have dropped more than 4 per cent. Nationwide figures show.

The average house price has fallen more than £13,000 since autumn 1989 to £53,038, the Nationwide says. The latest figures confirm the downward trend recorded by the Halifax Building Society which reported a fall of 3.1 per cent in September and is expected to detail a further drop in October.

Full details, page 21

Exhausted challenger conserves his rhetoric

FROM BEN MACINTYRE IN LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

DEMOCRATIC presidential candidate Bill Clinton arrived back in his home town of Little Rock, Arkansas, yesterday at the end of a punishing campaign which took him to eight states in about 30 hours. As he stepped onto the tarmac at the airport, the candidate looked florid but fresh; which is more than could be said for his entourage of exhausted aides.

The governor, holding the hands of his daughter Chelsea and his wife Hillary, was immediately mobbed by a crowd of supporters. In the midst of a crowd chanting "No More Days" and "We Want Bill", he raised a thumb and whispered to the assembled cameras "Yo"; or possibly "Go" — it was hard to tell, since Mr Clinton's laryngitis had become so acute. As he shook hands and embraced

Stumbling start to last lap of final race

FROM JAMIE DEITMER IN HOUSTON

PRESIDENT Bush started election day with a jog and a prediction, but his early morning run was marred by a stumble. His political career started in Houston three decades ago. Even loyal friends were ready to concede it might end here after what the president himself has called the "most unpleasant year of my life".

Mr Bush, who voted early with his wife Barbara, refused publicly to acknowledge that he was heading for anything but victory. He wound up his election campaign late on Monday night with what his staff called a Texan-style coming home rally, complete with cheerleaders and a host of stars from the worlds of entertainment and sport. But the razzamatazz failed to raise the spirits of aides who, ready for recriminations

Major attacks Bangemann after 'federal Europe' claim

BY PHILIP WEBSTER AND GEORGE BROCK IN BRUSSELS

JOHN Major was last night battling to avoid defeat in tonight's Commons vote on Maastricht after angrily denouncing a senior European commissioner's claim that the treaty was a milestone on the road to a federal Europe.

The prime minister and his colleagues continued their efforts until late into the night to win over the dissidents after trying to repair the fresh damage done by Martin Bangemann, a European commissioner from Germany, in a speech that brutally contradicted ministers' claims that the treaty reverses centralism. Mr Major accused Herr Bangemann of a silly and ill-informed speech, which was seized upon by the Euro-rebels as a vindication for their campaign against the treaty legislation.

British officials swiftly sought "clarification" from the Commission and appear to have demanded that it issue a statement disowning Herr Bangemann's remarks, which suggested that the principle of subsidiarity, by which Mr Major has set such store, "presupposes the idea of a federal state".

The timing of the words, precisely as the prime minister was trying to reassure the waverers that Maastricht was an anti-federalist measure, could not have been worse. Delighted rebel leaders believed that they would help to stiffen the resolve of MPs who have been coming under huge pressure from the whips and from their colleagues to back down.

As ministers prepared for a vote that could determine Mr Major's future, all the calculations pointed to tonight's outcome being a cliffhanger. There was no obvious sign of the rebellion faltering and a few more potential abstainers

were added to independent lists. The latest assessments suggested that some 28 MPs could vote against the government; a large number of additional abstentions could therefore defeat it.

Thirty-one potential rebels attended a private meeting about tactics in a Commons committee room last night. At least half a dozen hardliners who will also vote against the government were not present.

The whips are pinning their hopes on last-minute persuasion, a strong performance from the prime minister and the possible failure of a handful of minority party MPs to turn up. John D Taylor.

A two-hour cabinet meeting over the government's £244.5 billion spending target has earned a reprieve for the Jubilee line extension to London's Docklands. A public sector pay freeze is favoured by the cabinet to meet spending plans which are not expected to be concluded before the weekend. Page 10

Ulster Unionist MP for Strangford, faintly signalled last night that his party might be open to a deal. While it would be consistent for the party to vote against the government because it opposed Maastricht in its election manifesto, "there may be other issues that influence our final decision", he said.

One minister said at about 4pm yesterday: "If the vote was now, we would lose, but there is another lap to go yet." It was an oblique reference to traditional last-day pressure. Continued on page 6, col 1

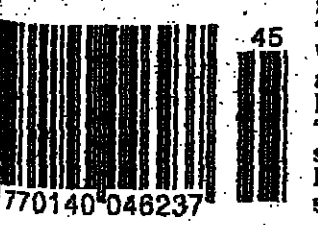
Simon Jenkins, page 16
Leading article and letters, page 17

VACHERON CONSTANTIN
Geneva, since 1755

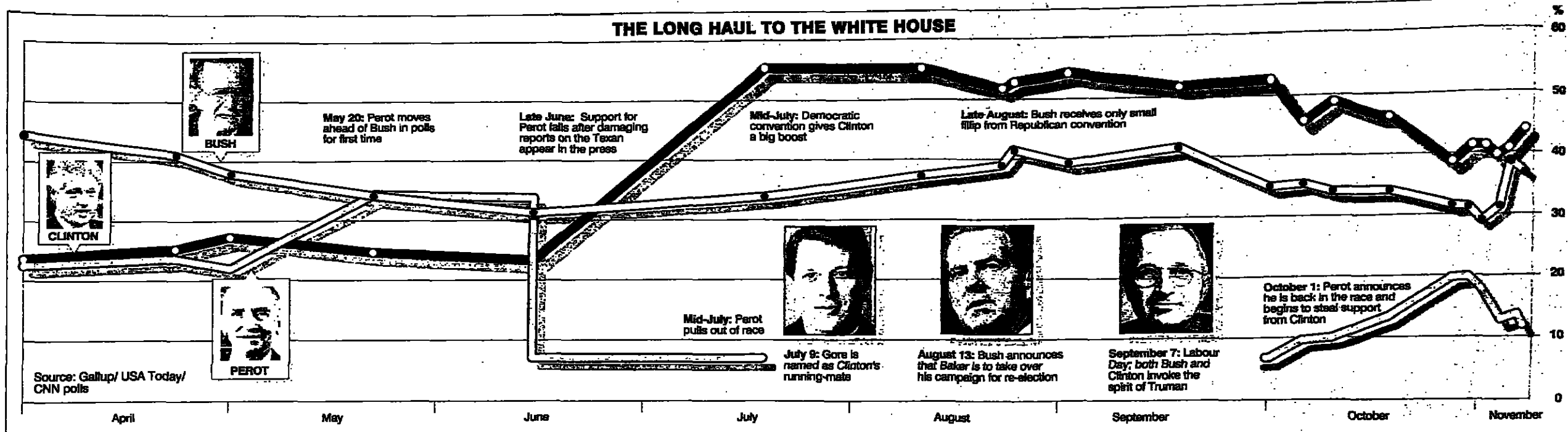
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BRITISH TIME ZONES OVERSEAS
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Comeback Kid who never gave up

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER
IN WASHINGTON

THE 1992 presidential campaign, the world's most protracted democratic exercise, is over. As President Bush so eloquently observed, it was "weird out there".

Never before has a president of the United States been asked in a televised press conference with a visiting head of state about his "sexual trysts". Ross Perot was said to have ordered private investigations of Mr Bush's children. The Republicans were caught scouring State Department files for dirt on Bill Clinton's mother.

Dan Quayle, the vice-president, ran against a fictional Hollywood character called Murphy Brown. Mr Bush seemed at times to be campaigning against Oxford University. The election's master of ceremonies was the talkshow host, Larry King.

The year's most excruciating 90 minutes came when Admiral James Stockdale, Mr Perot's running-mate and a complete political novice, was plucked from his Greek philosophy to participate before 80 million viewers in the vice-presidential debate. His response to one question was: "You know, I didn't have my hearing aid turned on. Tell me again."

The story of the campaign was even stranger than its particulars. Last year the Liberator of Kuwait enjoyed the sort of impossible popularity ratings that only communist dictators can expect to attain. Every leading Democrat found pretends to wait for 1996 (though Mario Cuomo, the governor of New York, agonised until an hour before

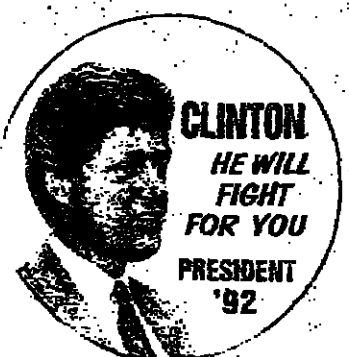
New Hampshire's filing deadline). The improbable Paul Tsongas was for months the party's lone standard-bearer. But just when the election faced cancellation through lack of interest, Mr Bush's ratings fell further, faster than those of any previous president.

On King's show in February, Mr Perot let slip his interest in the presidency. Within three months, a flood of public anger had made him the first independent since polls began to outstrip the official candidates. The little Texan with the giant ego then self-destructed not once, but twice. The second time he made bizarre claims about Republican plans to disrupt his daughter's wedding and to smear her as a lesbian.

Mr Clinton survived the unsurvivable — a letter almost proving draft evasion, tapes of him chatting to a nightclub singer who claimed to be his 12-year lover. His glibness saved him. "All I've been asked about is a woman I didn't sleep with and a draft I didn't dodge," he declared at one point. James Carville, Mr Clinton's chief strategist, admitted later: "I was just as scared as I have ever been in politics." The unelectable governor of one of America's smallest, poorest states then proceeded to catch the invincible president.

This was the first election since the collapse of communism, but that monumental event gave Mr Bush no help at all. It simply freed voters to contemplate their domestic circumstances. They discovered that they were fearful for their livelihoods and sick of the status quo. A remarkable number of voters were prepared to swallow Mr Tsongas's

■ George Bush called the campaign weird and what happened to him was weirdest. Luck and sheer tenacity proved to be the making of Bill Clinton, but are they the making of a president?



economic castor oil. Still more were attracted by the anti-establishment populist tirades of Patrick Buchanan, Jerry Brown and, later, Mr Perot.

There were scandals galore and enough mud thrown to fill a swamp, but there were redeeming factors. Protectionism and isolationism proved electoral albatrosses, and there was little of 1988's covert racism. The only event that attracted less publicity than David Duke's presidential declaration was the white supremacist's subsequent withdrawal.

Most remarkable of all was Mr Clinton's sheer tenacity. In snowy New Hampshire, following the Jennifer Flowers and Vietnam draft allegations, the media rounded on the 46-year-old Arkansas they

had just anointed frontrunner. He dropped 13 points in four days. The pundits declared him dead. The talk was of brokered conventions and late entries by Democratic sevens. Mr Clinton survived that. He was dubbed "the Terminator" for his ability to withstand bullets, though the genuine article, Arnold Schwarzenegger, was busy lending the president charisma. Mr Clinton also survived a second crisis last June, when he was utterly eclipsed by the Perot phenomenon. He lagged a distant third in the polls, owed \$4 million (£2.6 million) and could not pay his staff.

This time the danger was not destruction but irrelevance, but he again soldiered on until his fortunes turned. Mr Perot, having loosed millions of Republicans from their

moorings, abruptly dropped out just as the Democrats were demonstrating a surprisingly attractive new face at their New York convention.

Mr Clinton had a lot of luck. He was fortunate to face the Democrats' "B" team in the primaries. He was lucky to have Mr Buchanan, one of America's premier wordsmiths, lace-rate "King George and his hollow army" with his rapier wit. The economic upturn never materialised, and Mr Clinton was blessed by the Republicans' ineptitude — that unforgettably sour Houston convention, Mr Bush's refusal even to utter his opponent's name until August.

But he made his luck. No candidate was ever more prepared. He had six-point policies for every arcane issue, and instant responses to every Republican attack. His reaction to adversity was to shake more hands, make more speeches, appear on yet more shows. He never looked rattled, lost his composure or appeared to be running from the press. So infinite was his stamina that after 20-hour days on the campaign trail he would play cards with aides in the small hours of the morning.

Mr Clinton missed few tricks. He rushed for example to dub himself the "Comeback Kid" on the night of the New Hampshire primary, a virtual referendum on his candidacy, and the label stuck though he only got 25 per cent. One of the year's most audacious acts was appearing with his wife Hillary on a prime-time news show to answer, or appear to answer, the Flowers allegations. In fact all he admitted was "causing pain in my marriage". While his primary opponents had

looked no further than the "Super Tuesday" primaries, he had realised that the nomination would really be wrapped up in the subsequent Illinois and Michigan primaries, and he laid his groundwork there months in advance.

He displayed a flair for the unconventional. He grabbed attention when he most needed it by playing the saxophone in wrap-around dark glasses on a late-night talk show. He made seven-bus tours through the heartlands subtly to accentuate how Mr Bush was out of touch. He defied conventional wisdom by picking Al Gore, a fellow southerner and baby-boomer, as his running mate, and in doing so turned the race into a generational contest.

Mr Clinton also displayed a flair for the expedient. Hillary was silenced and repackaged when her forcefulness became a liability. He crafted a confrontation with the Rev Jesse Jackson over a black rap singer to show millions of conservative whites that he was one Democrat not in lock to the civil rights leader. He variously positioned himself as an old-school Democrat, a New Democrat and as a complete outsider, as circumstances dictated. He shamelessly championed welfare reform and the death penalty to avoid being tagged a liberal Democrat.

This was a model campaign, but one that begged a question. Were the formidable skills he displayed over the past year those required for greatness in a president?

America votes, page 1
The American Right and Diary, page 16

AMERICA VOTES

Iraq reveals over polls

Baghdad: God will ensure that George Bush is crushed at the polls and consign him to the dustbin of history, an official Iraqi newspaper said. "Bush is finished. The punishment of God is not like that of a human being upon a criminal of such nature...," the (Bush) is going to the dustbin of history... cursed by everybody until doomsday," the government newspaper *al-Jumhuriyah* said.

Other enemies of Iraq can also expect to feel the hand of God, *al-Jumhuriyah* said. "Everyone who conspired against Iraq is moving towards a black end, to the hell of oblivion, ruin of present and future," it said.

The cancer from which (French president Francois) Mitterrand suffers, the free falling sterling of (British Prime Minister John) Major are clear examples of the punishment of heaven," the newspaper said. "They are dropping like flies." *Reuters*

Harry's Bar backs Clinton

Paris: As the polls opened on the East Coast, the Clinton campaign took further succor from a most unscientific opinion poll carried out in Harry's Bar, at 5 Rue Daunou, Paris (Sean Mac Carthaigh writes).

Since 1924, customers there have correctly predicted every presidential contest with the single exception of the Carter-Ford race in 1976. Yesterday's poll gave 385 votes to Mr Clinton, 341 to President Bush and just 88 to Mr Perot. The only qualification needed to vote at Harry's Bar is American citizenship and to be a customer.

Perot wagers

London: Lawrence Kallet, of San Diego, California, arrived in London yesterday just in time to place a £5,000 bet on Ross Perot with Ladbrokes. He stood to win £500,000 if the 100-1 outsider became the next president. "We will happily buy him a bottle of champagne in the event of a Clinton or Bush victory," a Ladbrokes spokesman said. "If Perot wins, he can buy it for us."

Student vote

London: Mr Clinton was backed by students at an American college based in the Sussex countryside. Students at the New England College at Ford near Arundel gave their overwhelming support to Arkansas governor in a mock presidential election.

TV walkout

Sydney: About 25 radio journalists with the government-owned Australian Broadcasting Corporation walked out in a dispute over whether news or current affairs reporters should cover the US election. *(Reuters)*

Ottawa ties

Ottawa: President Bush has been a friend to Canada, but Ottawa is ready to forge new ties with Mr Clinton's administration if he wins, Barbara McDougall, Secretary of State for External Affairs, said. *(AP)*

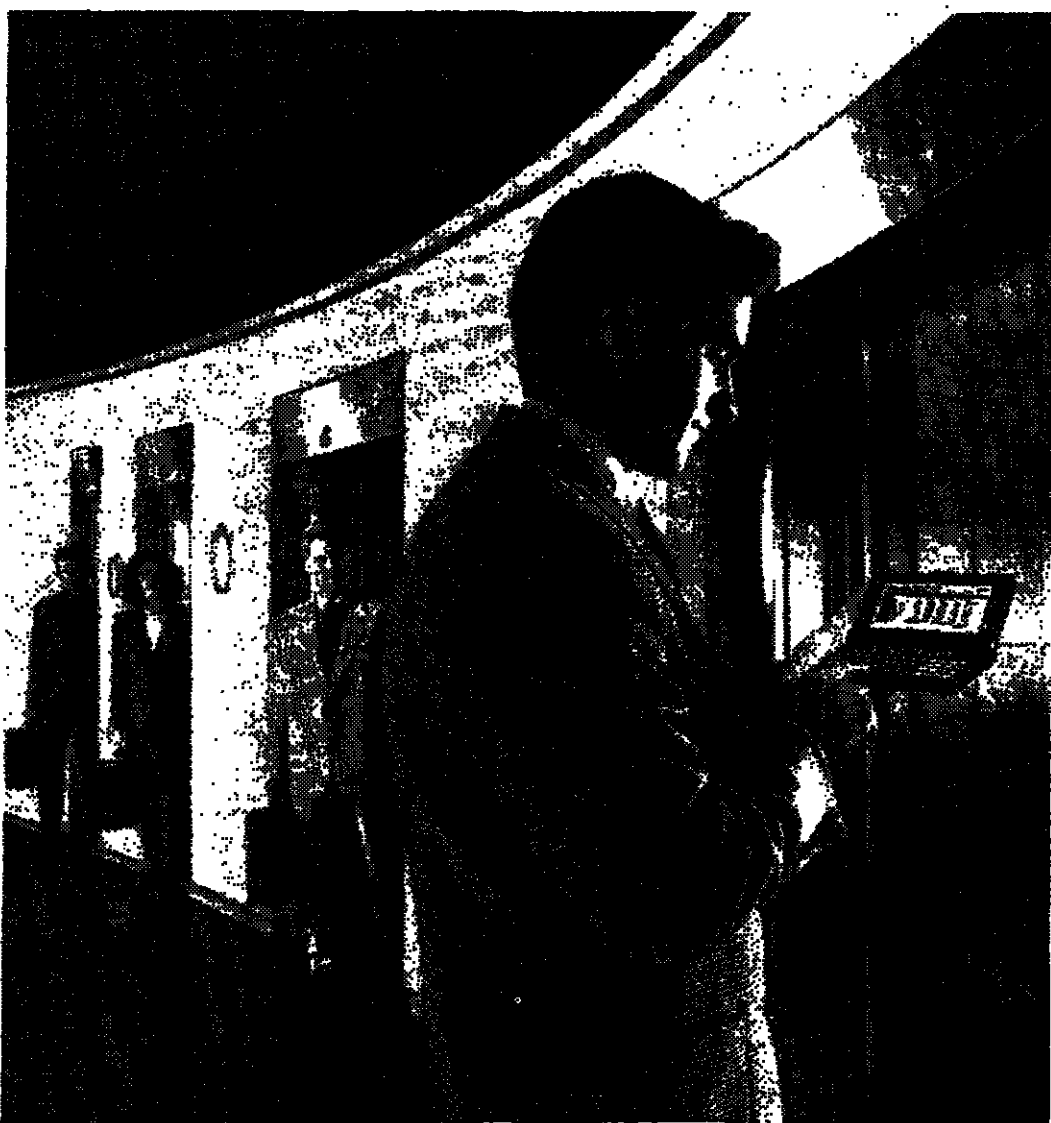
Live cover

Bucharest: Romanian Television offered live coverage of an American presidential election for the first time in the state-owned station's history. *(Reuters)*

Manila neutral

Manila: President Ramos's administration said it was neutral over the US presidential race after a confidential government memo reportedly predicted relations would improve under Mr Clinton. *(AP)*

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PACKARD

Dark side of Perot cast him as race's also-ran

FROM JAMIE DETTMER
IN WASHINGTON

WAS he a prophet or charlatan, a genius who could put America back in touch with its dream or a super-salesman with a big ego who, when faced with the charge that he was a quitter, sought the limelight again? What made Ross Perot run... and run again? And why at one time in the summer did more than 65 million Americans support the Dallas billionaire's one-man assault on established party politics?

When he returned to the fray in October, after quitting the race for the White House in July, erstwhile supporters shook their heads angrily and muttered words like "mad". Ed Rollins, the veteran political strategist who resigned from the Perot campaign only 48 days after joining it, declared that Mr Perot was a danger as much to himself as America.

After his return to the presidential race, Mr Perot defied conventional political wisdom, clawing his way back from a dismal 7 per cent to 22 per cent, almost where he was in the poll ratings before he dropped out.

But despite the opinion polls in the spring showing Mr Perot leading both George Bush and Bill Clinton, there was never any real chance of the Dallas billionaire winning the presidential election — not because the American political system would prevent it, but because the darker side of Mr Perot's character would detail the effort.

For those hankering for a realignment of American politics, for an end to the restricting two-party system pitching liberal spendthrifts against conservative ones, Mr Perot's arrival on the scene was a godsend. After four years of a lacklustre Bush presidency which failed to grapple with the burgeoning federal deficit, and after an unedifying congressional term of gridlock and squabbles, millions of Americans, already disillusioned with a political system that seemed to favour symbols over substance, special interest over republic interest, were ready for something different. The presidential debates,



Independent air: Mr Perot on network television

more than anything, showed the difference between the established politicians and Mr Perot. Mr Clinton trotted out well-rehearsed policy arguments replete with statistics designed to avoid annoying virtually any sections of American life, except for the very wealthy. Mr Bush told America that things were not bad really. They both lacked spontaneity. Mr Perot cut through and reflected what most Americans do think. "We've created a mess," he said, recalling his earlier promise to "clean out the barn".

Mr Perot's strength in this election reflected the dangerous levels voter alienation has sunk to in America. He seemed to promise, in his unconventional way, the fulfilment of an old American dream that goes all the way back to the founding fathers: government without politics. Sober university professors

compared the Perot phenomenon to fascism, the comparison emphasised by the *New Republic* magazine, a political weekly, which warned its readers that the no-nonsense businessman with the marine-style cropped hair was the "tempter" who, like past European dictators, could lure people hungering for simplicity on to the rocks of populist enslavement.

Another reason why Americans started to draw back from Mr Perot revolved round the glimpses of the conspiratorial, even paranoid, cast of mind that governed much of his thinking. His penchant for intrigue and cloak-and-dagger behaviour came to a head just over a week ago, when he made bizarre allegations about Republican dirty tricks. His poll ratings dropped significantly last week. The Perot presidential bubble had finally burst.

Hillbilly
with idea
aims high

Dons glory in
head of Wes



DAVID BURNETT

FROM BEN MACENTYRE IN WASHINGTON

FROM KATE MUIR IN WASHINGTON

Senators who have worked with Mr Gore find him almost too serious. "When he chooses a subject, he likes to study it until he is very well versed in it," says Lloyd Bentsen, the senior Texas senator. "He is not the sort of senator others gather around because he is a backslapper or has the ability to tell good stories, but he is respected and liked."

At that time, he had been courting Mary Elizabeth "Tipper" Aitcheson, whom he had met at a school dance, for five years. They got married in 1970 and have four children. Miss Gore recently campaigned against violent lyrics in rock music, demanding that offensive albums and videos should have warning stickers. She expounded her theories in *Raising PG Kids in an X-Rated Society*. The book was not a best-seller, unlike Mr Gore's environmental

BY MATTHEW D'ANCONA

Yet, to Clinton supporters, Oxford was the intellectual Camelot where the candidate-to-be honed his political vision and mingled with the cream of American youth, many of

In a more subtle sense, Mr. Clinton's anglophilia helped cement the mythic connection with John Kennedy, whose fascination with Britain was a major theme of his book *Why England?* (1940) and was a major factor in his relationship with Harold Macmillan. Kennedy filled his administration with no fewer than 16 Rhodes scholars. During his presidency, the Senate foreign affairs committee was chaired by yet another Oxford graduate, Senator James Fulbright—who later employed the young Bill Clinton. Echoing and exploiting the Kennedy legend in this and other ways, Mr. Clinton short-circuited the potentially disastrous memory

Oxford's principal legacy to the administration will be people. There are at least 11 Rhodes scholars among Mr Clinton's close advisers. But there will also be an intellectual pay-off. By his own account, Mr Clinton's time was formative, persuading him "that America had to be involved in the rest of the world, had to be engaged. It made me an internationalist in that sense".

He heard Harold Wilson at the Union. He ploughed through 300 books a year and reflected on the relative merits

Yet there are ironic signs that President Clinton's policies may strain the special relationship between Britain and America. Mindful of the Irish Democrat vote, he has

So as Oxford does toast the glory of "their boy" and contemplate the millions of dollars which will surely flow into the university coffers in the next four years, the mood at Number Ten will be more sombre. John Major may wonder if he can play Supremac to Mr Clinton's Kennedy; and whether American anglophobia adds up to much in the cut and thrust of transatlantic politics.



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He heard Harold Wilson at the Union. He ploughed through 300 books a year and reflected on the relative merits

of British parliamentary democracy and the American separation of powers. He also developed a distaste for class division. "I ate lunch in the market almost every day," he recalled, "and I spent a lot of time talking to ordinary citizens, not just university people. I was always struck by the distinctions of class... that's something I thought was not a good thing".

Yet there are ironic signs that President Clinton's policies may strain the special relationship between Britain and America. Mindful of the Irish Democrat vote, he has

said he would send a "peace envoy" to Northern Ireland and give Gerry Adams, the Sinn Féin leader, a visa to enter the United States.

So as Oxford dons toast the glory of "their boy" and contemplate the millions of dollars which will surely flow into the university coffers in the next four years, the mood at Number Ten will be more sombre. John Major may wonder if he can play Supermac to Mr Clinton's Kennedy; and whether American anglophobia adds up to much in the cut and thrust of transatlantic politics.

Clinton faces a new world

■ The election outcome may appear to have turned America full circle back to 1980, but in fact much has happened to the country since Jimmy Carter was ousted

By CHARLES BREMNER

JUMP back 12 years and the scene in America looked remarkably like it does today. A discredited, weak president loses after a single term which saw his country beset with a stagnant economy and wracked with social malaise.

The wheel, it seems, has turned full circle since that day of Jimmy Carter's defeat and the election of Ronald Reagan. Perhaps history will record the Reagan revolution and the Bush postscript as something of an oddity, a curious interlude in the course of America's decline. Certainly, to borrow the old Reagan campaign line, most Americans feel no better off than that day when they tried to banish the Vietnam syndrome, stagflation, the humiliation of the Tehran hostages and oil shocks, along with Mr Carter, the hapless peanut farmer from Georgia. But that would dismiss too easily the legacy of the Reagan-Bush era.

The United States and the world have altered greatly since the autumn of 1980, when a demoralised America of wide

Democrat set for presidency of a nation that passed under Reagan and Bush from revival to exaltation, hubris and back to anxiety

lapels and dinky cars was taking it on the lip from the Arabs, the Iranians and, hard to remember now, the "Soviets" and their clients around the globe. Bill Clinton will be able to return Democratic leadership to a people who have absorbed big lessons from their Reagan-led journey through revival to exaltation, hubris and back to anxiety.

The Arkansas governor captured voters not by offering a return to the Keynesian liberalism of the Democrats, but by abandoning the old baggage and espousing a tough-minded approach that draws on the Reagan ideals of individual responsibility, low taxes and market freedom. Americans may be anxious about the future, but the often harsh recipes of the Republican years have forged a sense of realism about global economic competition. And no Democrats would any more think of mocking, as they once did, the fierce anti-communist convictions which Mr Reagan brought Washington. From Latin America to the salons of socialist Paris, the left-wingers who used to sneer at the "dangerous hysteria" of the capitalist cowboy president now acknowledge that he got there before them.

In the chastened aftermath of the Reagan years, however, the failures loom large. Voodoo economics, the term which Mr Bush used to skewer Mr Reagan's supply-side ideas when he ran against him in the 1980 primaries, helped to generate a boom but they also bred fiscal irresponsibility and the explosion of the deficit to \$4,000 billion (£2,560 billion) over the 12 years. By the time Mr Bush took over, it was clear that real wealth had not trickled down, as promised, from the tax-relieved rich who did so well.

A visit to any part of America, from the recently booming suburbs to the wastelands of the industrial north, will reveal the failures of Reagan-Bush laissez-faire which Mr Clinton aims to redress.

Cleansing 1980s towers dominate cityscapes surrounded by squalor and anarchy and then by outer rings of increasingly fortified suburbs. Roads and bridges are crumbling from neglect, as are

schools. About 30 million people live in fear of medical bills for which they have no insurance. Most damaging of all for the national psyche, unemployment and fear of hard times are hitting the middle classes more severely than any time since the 1930s.

In their worried mood, many Americans ridicule what now seems to be the hollow optimism of Mr Reagan's "Morning in America", the self-glorification which reached its apotheosis in the time between his re-election in 1984 and the twin disasters of the Challenger space shuttle and the Iran-Contra affair in 1986. Like newly sobered drinkers, Americans look back with disbelief at the euphoria of the Los Angeles Olympics in 1984, the gloating over the invasion of Grenada and the air raid on Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, and the idolising of take-over barons, Rambo and Oliver North.

It is hard to remember that at the time, millions of Americans shared Mr Reagan's worry that Daniel Ortega's Nicaraguan tanks were "only two days' drive from Texas". It also seems that it was another America which was prepared to ignore Mr Reagan's bumbling, the Iran-Contra affair and the astrologers in the White House, as well as the administration which produced the Savings and Loan scandal, the biggest corruption scandal in American history.

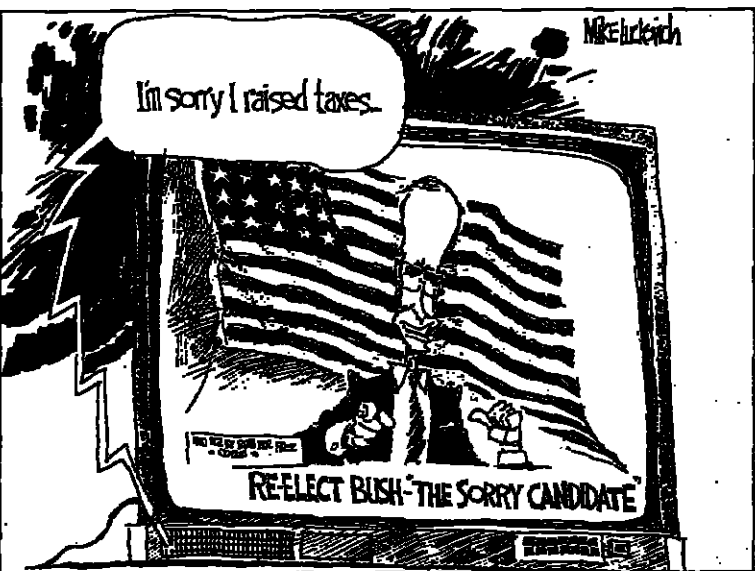
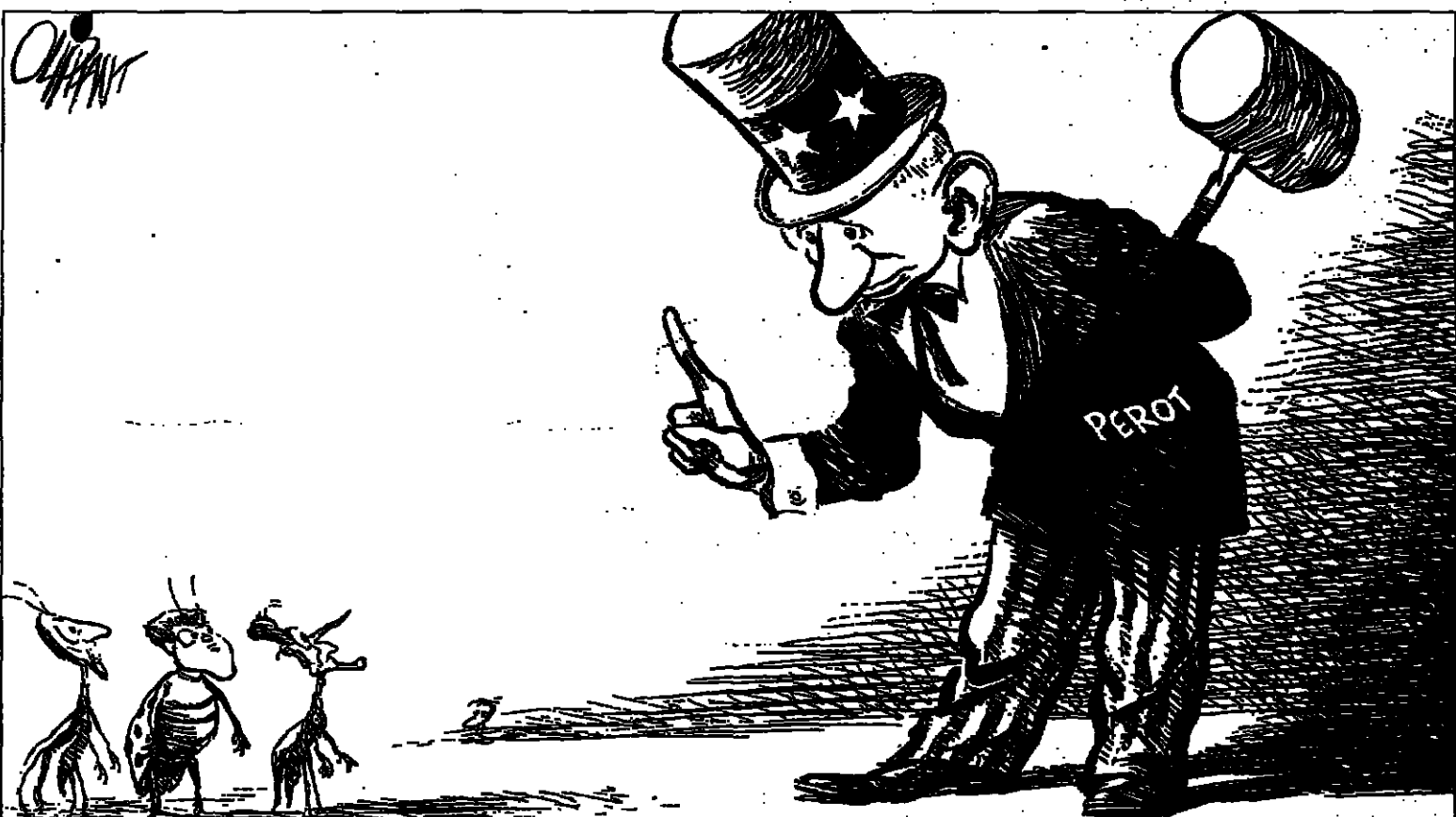
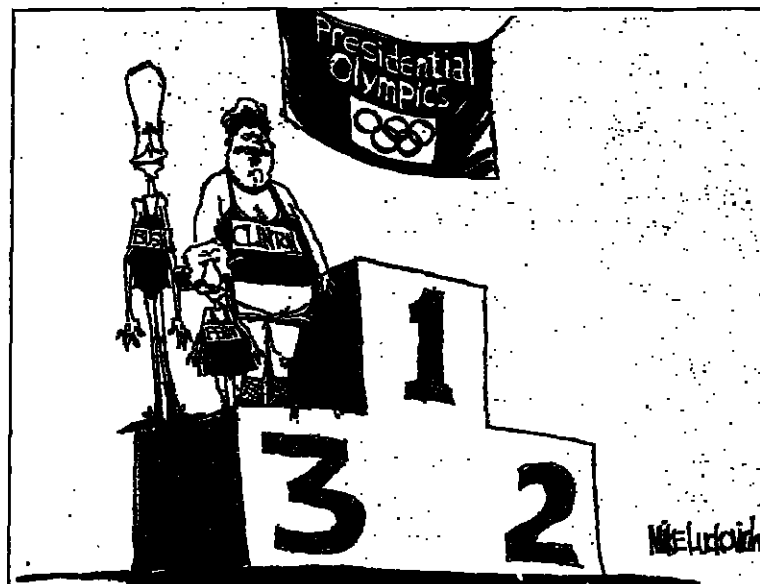
Yet, for all the excesses of the 1980s and their coda, historians will surely credit Mr Reagan, though not his successor, with restoring morale and ridding the country of its sense of guilt over its failed anti-communist adventures, from the Bay of Pigs to the fall of Saigon. The Soviet Union was an atrophied, collapsing hulk when Mr Reagan took over, but its capacity for mischief remained great. What seemed like dangerous American intransigence to all those German peace campaigners, convinced Yuri Andropov and Mikhail Gorbachev, his protégé, that the new arms race would bankrupt their country.

Mr Reagan's vision may now seem a nostalgic, tinged one of a Norman Rockwell city on the hill, but at least he had one. Mr Bush failed to come up with a plan. Handed victory in the Cold war, Mr Bush talked of a "new world order" but stayed reactive to China, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the invasion of Kuwait. His resolve and skill in marshalling the coalition force there only partially erased the damage from encouraging Iraq and the credit was dimmed by President Saddam Hussein's survival. At home, the man who promised to be "the education president" and "the environmental president" became the "out-of-touch president". The compassionate "kinder, gentler" approach never emerged, leaving racial and social troubles to fester.

Mr Bush, surely the last American leader of the world war generation, had the misfortune to inherit the White House after the moral victory was won both at home and abroad.

With nothing left to fight and no clear cause, he ended up a fairly competent steward of a nation that came to crave change.

The campaigning cartoons



Resentful Republicans give the media a bad press

FROM ANTHONY HOWARD
IN WASHINGTON

AT LEAST twice last week, George Bush had to plead with crowds of loyal Republicans not to take their resentment out on the press corps travelling with him. Active antagonism towards newspapers and television — "annoy the media, re-elect George Bush" — has characterised the Republican campaign.

The Bush-Quayle camp certainly does not believe that it was given a fair shake. The president himself, sometimes sounding like Spiro Agnew or even George Wallace before him, seldom lost an opportunity to deride those whom he termed "the

talking heads of the national media that come on and tell us everything that is bad about America". In the end, if only to protect the journalists and film crews from the wrath of his followers, he was forced to tone down his attacks and declare an "amnesty". But the frustration and anger of the Republicans is unlikely to go away.

It has been, of course, a recurrent theme of Republican politics. Indeed, it was largely resentment against the media that led Richard Nixon to coin the phrase "the silent majority". But this year the Republicans may have had more legitimate grounds for feeling persecuted than usual.

That was not, however, entirely the fault of "the liberal media". Even the

more established conservative voices in the press found it hard to say much on behalf of Mr Bush's claims to re-election. The most illustrious right-wing columnist, George F. Will, announced on Sunday he would not be voting for Mr Bush but instead entering a write-in vote for the administration's semi-detached housing secretary, Jack Kemp.

Not that Bill Clinton's campaign by any means had things all its own way. No presidential candidate has ever been subjected to greater assault and battery by the media than the Democratic candidate was back at the start of the primary season last February. But, somehow, the very fact that he survived all the damaging

allegations that were then made provided him with a breastplate later on. The efforts of the president, in particular, to make something sinister out of the young Mr Clinton's visit to Moscow — or his claimed role in organising anti-war demonstrations "in a foreign land" — fell notably flat.

The Republicans faced an uphill struggle in trying to make "character" the issue. With the exception of such eccentric papers as *The Washington Times*, the media soon lost interest even in the draft issue. The same went for Gennifer Flowers, whose interview in the current *Playboy* scarcely raised a ripple.

Was the Clinton campaign given a

soft ride? The Republicans will certainly believe that but then they bear the scars of seeing Mr Clinton collect a record number of editorial endorsements, with even one in *The Economist* being held up to a wondering domestic gaze.

More important, though, may well have been the relaxed relationship which the Democrats succeeded in establishing with the press. Reporters never made any secret of the fact that they much preferred following the Clinton campaign. The president has never enjoyed an easy association with the media. The "boys on the bus" may not carry any precincts but they still play some part in shaping the climate of opinion.

CAMPAIGN QUOTES

I will do what I have to do to get re-elected.
George Bush to David Frost in January

He doesn't seem to stand for anything.
Ronald Reagan on Mr Bush

A mean, son-of-a-bitch who acts like a mafioso.
Bill Clinton on Mario Cuomo

What began as a little rebellion has emerged into a fully fledged middle-American revolution.
Pat Buchanan after winning 37 per cent in the New Hampshire primary

I think he's going to get opened up like a soft peanut in November.
Bob Kerrey on Mr Clinton before the Georgia March primary

It's an outrage. It's a dirty, double-crossing, backstabbing thing to do... an act of absolute dishonour.
Mr Clinton, unaware that he was being recorded, after being told erroneously that Jesse Jackson had endorsed Tom Harkin

I suppose I could have stayed home, baked cookies and had tea.
Hillary Clinton after Jerry Brown accused her husband of channelling Arkansas state business to her law firm

When I was in England I experimented with marijuana a time or two and I didn't like it. I didn't inhale.
Mr Clinton during the New York primary

We have never said to the press that Clinton's a philandering, pot-smoking draft-dodger.
Mary Matalin, political director of the Bush campaign

Your first term has been a great disappointment. You broke promises. You vacillated. You showed little domestic leadership. You continually blamed others. Actually, there's been a disconcerting whine about your whole presidency.
A Houston Post editorial as Republicans gathered for their convention in Mr Bush's home city

There is a religious war going on in our country for the soul of America. It is a cultural war, as critical to the kind of nation we will one day be as was the Cold War itself. And in that struggle for the soul of America, George Bush is on our side. And so we have to close home and stand beside him.
Mr Buchanan in his speech to the convention

I hit the bullet, and he hit his nails.
Mr Bush in his convention speech on Mr Clinton's Gulf war equivocation

It left out three simple letters, G-O-D.
Mr Bush on the Democratic party manifesto

Tonight I say to the president: Mr Bush, for 12 years you've had it your way. You've had your chance and it didn't work. It's time to change.
Mr Clinton to Mr Bush in the first presidential debate

Your father was right to oppose Joe McCarthy. You are wrong to question my patriotism.
Mr Clinton to Mr Bush at the same debate

They've got a point. I don't have any experience in running up a \$4,000 billion debt.
Ross Perot after Mr Bush accused him of inexperience

Who am I? Why am I here? — James Stockdale, Mr Perot's running mate, in the vice-presidential debate

My dog Millie knows more about foreign affairs than these two bozos.
Mr Bush on Mr Clinton and Al Gore

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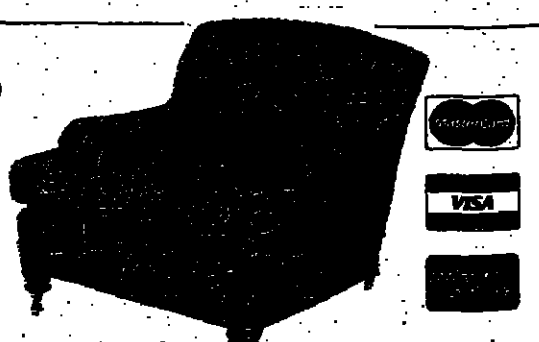
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Major's cattle come forth to crush the insects

Because, remarked Edmund Burke, "half a dozen grasshoppers under a fern make the field ring with their importunate chink, whilst thousands of great cattle, reposed beneath the shadow of the British oak, chew the cud and are silent, pray do not imagine that those who make the noise are the only inhabitants of the field that, of course, they are many in number; or that, after all, they are other than the little, shrivelled, meagre, hopping, though loud and troublesome, insects of the hour".

Yesterday in Parliament, with tonight's moment of truth drawing closer and the Euro-sceptical grasshoppers

chinking ever louder in the press, the great cattle of the Tory backbenches judged it timely to moo.

James Hill (C, Southampton Test, approx 15 stone) has been chewing the cud down in Hampshire over the week-end. He is increasingly irritated by the grasshoppers. He hasn't, you understand, committed the whole Maastricht treaty thing to memory — suspects, indeed, that bits of it are pretty mure (hasn't the PM said as much himself, dammit?) — but he does know a bit about Europe, which is more than some of these young whippersnappers calling themselves the '92 group seem to. Hill is part of the '68 group. On the threshold of



MATTHEW PARRIS POLITICAL SKETCH

his second quarter century in Parliament, he is described in Roth's *Parliamentary Profiles* as "broad, thickset, genial, specs... rooted, pragmatic, commonsensical, local gut-righting, well-heeled pigbreeder and ex-pilot". A chap who crewed flying boats for BOAC (47-'58, with three years in Aden Airways) knows a thing or two about loyalty to your mates in a tight spot.

James Hill attends assiduously but does not speak too often — not one of your

twitterers about every damn thing. Yesterday, however, with the order paper showing his name attached to question number two to the PM, was a time for helping a chief in trouble.

If his broad, thickset, genial, local gut-righting, well-heeled, pigbreeding instincts had not told Mr Hill as much already, the whips would have, several times, and then reminded him again after lunch. And, if Mr Hill had not already seen

in Monday's *Times* a letter from top industrialists stressing the importance of Maastricht to British industry (and pigbreeding?) then the whips would have drawn that, too, to his attention. "You might," they would have added (in the respectful way you do to a broad, thickset person) "care to draw the House's attention to that letter, James."

But Mr Hill doesn't need whips to tell him that. The important chink of the grasshoppers all around him does. At 3.18pm he rose, slowly, testily but with immense dignity, as might any great beast of the field, disturbed by insects. His moment had arrived. The prime minister was agog.

Hill lumbered through the letters page of Monday's *Times*, summarising the gist, which was that Europe was good for industry; and that it is (he mused) "absolutely essential that we ratify M... Mm..."

Here occurred a tiny but electrifying moment's hesitation. Would Mr Hill get stuck on the Mm of Maastricht? Might "Mmmmm... you know what" have to suffice? No. Whips wiped their brows as Hill finished the word successfully.

From all around him came a lowing of supportive moos, as other great beasts raised their heads approvingly. The grasshoppers were momentarily silent.

Right-wing ministers refuse to join revolt

BY NICHOLAS WOOD, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

RIGHT-WING ministers were rallying to John Major's side last night on the eve of tonight's cliff-hanging vote on the Maastricht treaty.

As many as 20 ministers are understood to harbour serious reservations about pressing ahead with ratification of the bill. But they intend to back the prime minister in the division lobbies because they fear that defeat could precipitate his fall and a leadership election in which he would be replaced by a more pro-European figure such as Kenneth Clarke.

Tory rebels have been talking about "cashing in their chips" and seeking the resignations of half a dozen highly sceptical junior ministers such as Michael Forsyth, Neil Hamilton, Edward Leigh and Jonathan Aiden.

But one minister dashed the hopes of the rebels last night that their numbers might be boosted by last-minute resignations from the government. He said: "John Major is the right-wing candidate."

Right-wing ministers have accepted that a gulf had opened between them and their supporters on the back

benches. One said that they were being accused of "indulging themselves" by passing up what was likely to be the best chance they would ever have to halt British ratification of the treaty.

But they argued that the internal cabinet battle over the future direction of economic policy was more important than the fate of the treaty.

Mr Major was said to have bolstered his support inside the government by strongly identifying himself with new economic policies, emphasising the importance of growth and turning his back on the high interest rates needed to sustain British membership of the European exchange-rate mechanism.

Cabinet minutes were said to record that ERM membership was not part of government policy and that Britain had no intention of rejoining. Mr Lamont's Mansion House speech, in which he endorsed the growth policy, was said to have been rewritten in 10 Downing Street. It is understood that the original draft supplied by the Treasury laid too much emphasis on fighting inflation and too little on ending the recession.

One minister said that the internal cabinet debate over Maastricht had been less fraught than it was before Mr Major's negotiation of the treaty last Christmas.

There were three reasons for this: Euro-sceptic ministers regarded the treaty with its opt-outs as the best available deal; the economy was the most important issue facing the government; and the treaty would probably fall apart from its internal contradictions. One minister said there was now no chance of a single currency in Europe.

Against this background, Euro-sceptic ministers did not want Mr Major to lose the vote and to come under intense pressure to resign. They regarded the obvious alternatives — Mr Clarke, Michael Heseltine and Douglas Hurd — as much worse. They pointed out that the right lacked a candidate in the absence of Mr Major. Michael Portillo was too young, Michael Howard and Peter Lilley lacked the populist touch and Kenneth Baker, the only heavyweight possibility on the back benches, still suffered from his Heathite past.

Simon Jenkins and Diary, page 16
Leading article and Letters, page 17

EC official gives boost to sceptics

Continued from page 1 that will be exerted on the rebels. One senior MP remarked: "There are several knighthoods on the line tonight."

The rebels' dilemma was whether to throw all their support behind a Labour amendment, to be voted on first, calling for the bill to be delayed until after the Edinburgh summit, or to wait for the government motion and try to deliver a more lasting blow to the ratification process.

Herr Bangemann, the senior commissioner in charge of the single market, made no direct references to the interpretations of the treaty which British ministers have been using to win round the Tory waverers, but he set out to undermine several cherished defences of the treaty made by both Mr Major and Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary. He said in a "Europe Day" speech in Berlin that subsidiarity made sense only in a federal system of government. "Inadequacies of Community decision-making cannot be remedied by returning power to member states. The notion of subsidiarity presupposes the idea of a federal European state."

When Herr Bangemann's intervention was raised in the Commons, Mr Major said the speech was wrong. The Commission had already made "absolutely clear these were personal remarks" and did not reflect the views of the Commission. "Nor, I can assure you, are they my views, the views of this government or of any mainstream government in Europe."

Uffe-Ellermann-Jensen, the Danish foreign minister, yesterday formally presented Denmark's proposals for changes in the Maastricht treaty to Mr Hurd so that they could be put by the British presidency to the Edinburgh summit. He said he hoped that the suggestions would be the basis for a framework agreed at the Birmingham summit that could be put to Danish voters in a new referendum.

Simon Jenkins, page 16
Leading article and Letters, page 17



Disparate motives unite an unlikely band of rebels

BY PHILIP WEBSTER AND SHEILA GUNN

SIR Richard Body, John Wilkinson, Nicholas Winterton and Michael Spicer are among the Tory MPs certain to vote against the government in tonight's crucial divisions on Europe. That much they have in common. But they will be approaching the vote from widely differing standpoints and with disparate motives.

Sir Richard, MP for Holland with Boston, comes from the original anti-market. With John Biffen, the former Commons leader, he voted against the bill that took Britain into the Common Market in 1972, and has a consistent record of rebellion on European issues.

He said: "I have always believed that small countries working together will work much more happily than having some great superstate. For more than 1,000 years, attempts to create a superstate in Europe have ended in tears."

This group of "irreconcilables" are joined by the "constitutionalists", such as William Cash, James Cran and Christopher Gill, who argue that British law and sovereignty are being eroded at every turn by Brussels and see the Maastricht treaty as the latest staging post. John Wilkinson, MP for Ruislip-Northwood, said: "Until the British people have affirmed by a majority expressed in a referendum that they wish the treaty on European union to be ratified by the British Parliament, I do not believe we should recognise that process of ratification."

But perhaps the largest

group heading for the anti-government lobbies are the free marketeers. This group includes Mr Spicer, Nicholas Budgen and several of the new intake of broadly Thatcherite Tory MPs such as Iain Duncan-Smith, Walter Sweeney and possibly Bernard Jenkin. Their objections are rooted in opposition to fixed exchange rates and moves towards a single currency.

A fourth category is known as the "patriots", the uncompromising British-is-best faction including Ann and Nicholas Winterton, John Carlisle and Tony Marlow, on whom the whips gave up long ago. "I am more of a Conservative than the government," said Mr Winterton, who considers it lunacy to spend so much time talking about a treaty instead of saving jobs and injecting confidence into the economy.

"It is grotesque for the prime minister to talk about a referendum being unnecessary, because Parliament has the right to decide. This de-



Sir Richard: Maastricht will end in tears

bate should be the opportunity for MPs, free of party whips, to indicate their views and the implications for this country and their constituents of the treaty," he said.

Some Labour MPs will go into the lobbies hoping that voting against the government will neither bring the Maastricht process tumbling to the ground nor ruin the party's painstakingly acquired European credentials. The party's keenest Europeans, of whom John Smith has always been counted as one, are making it plain that the vote must be speedily followed by moves to return to a pro-European stance. Roy Hattersley, the former deputy leader, has already said that he would not countenance opposing the third reading of the bill.

Giles Radice, Labour MP for Durham North, does not believe that a defeat for the government will spell the end for Maastricht. "Personally I do not think the government will lose but, if it does and Major goes, the odds are that he will be replaced by a stronger pro-European such as Kenneth Clarke."

For the Liberal Democrats, the motive is clear. Labour's decision to go for the throat has left them free to reclaim their mantle as the most European of the British parties and to make a stand on principle.

Just one of them, Nick Harvey, MP for Devon North, will be making his own stand. He has always opposed the treaty over what he sees as its centralising tendencies, and will not back the government tonight.

Outspoken foe of the prawn crisp

BY MICHAEL BINYON
DIPLOMATIC EDITOR

MARTIN Bangemann has a reputation as a volatile, emotional and unpredictable commissioner whose frank outbursts often cause considerable embarrassment to his officials and to Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission.

A former member of the European parliament and leader of the German Free Democrats, he has been outspoken in defence of a federal

MAN IN THE NEWS

Europe and of German interests in the Community. A witty, weighty figure, fluent in French and English and able to speak Spanish and Italian, he was German economics minister for four and a half years until his posting to Brussels in 1989 as commissioner for the internal market.

Despite his wish to expand his brief to cover external trade, his performance has not lived up to its promise. He has become a fierce rival to Sir Leon Brittan, whose competition portfolio has often clashed with Herr Bangemann's. His most solid achievement has been the attempt to open up Europe's car market and his tough stance on negotiations with Japan.

He caused bewilderment in Britain by proposing to outlaw prawn flavoured crisps and then angered football fans with proposals to limit the number of foreigners in European football teams.

Confusion extends death throes of Irish coalition

BY EDWARD GORMAN
IRELAND CORRESPONDENT

THE future of the Irish government remained seriously in question last night after the junior coalition partner delayed its decision to withdraw by at least two days.

The Progressive Democrats seem to have lost their nerve at the last minute, confounding expectations of an immediate collapse of their coalition with Fianna Fáil, which has survived three and a half years.

The nine-strong parliamentary party met early in the day for what was expected to be a simple rubber-stamping of its decision to leave the government. This followed repeated allegations by Albert Reynolds, the prime minister, that Des O'Malley, the demagogue leader, lied on oath in evidence to a Dáil-appointed enquiry into the beef industry.

All the indications up until that meeting from both the demagogue and Fianna Fáil ministers were that the government was as good as finished and a general election could be held as early as November 26.

Instead, after almost two hours, Mr O'Malley emerged to inform journalists that the party had adjourned its

meeting until tomorrow. He said he understood that today Mr Justice Hamilton, the chairman of the beef tribunal, was to hold a special investigation into Mr Reynolds' allegation against him. The party wished to hear the result of that investigation before taking its final decision. But Mr O'Malley added: "I see absolutely no reason at this time to alter in any way the party's analysis of the implications of this outrageous allegation."

Later in the day, however, Mr Justice Hamilton took the unprecedented course of issuing his own statement which appeared to contradict directly Mr O'Malley's interpretation of what will happen today. The judge said the demagogue leader had been "inaccurate and misleading". He would not be holding a special investigation, he was merely attempting to clarify the facts which had given rise to the dispute between Mr Reynolds and Mr O'Malley.

Even before the judge's intervention the demagogue's manoeuvre had created confusion and a certain amount of amazement at Parliament Buildings. One interpretation was that the party was making a fairly crude last-minute attempt to try to absolve itself of blame for causing an unwanted gener-

al election. But at the same time, it has succeeded in placing the chairman of the tribunal in an impossible position. Experts on the ten-month enquiry quickly predicted that the judge would not even consider making an interim finding on an issue which he has already described as "unseemly, distasteful and not part of the purpose for which the tribunal was set up".

Dick Spring, leader of the Labour party, said the demagogue had created a very difficult situation. "I would question the propriety of the course of action that they have chosen in relation to bringing the chairman of the tribunal into what is basically a political row," he said. "I think it is a very dangerous course of action." A leading Dublin political commentator dismissed the demagogue's gambit more bluntly: "Such a direct interference in the political system on the eve of an election would certainly be mind-boggling."

There was little expectation in Dublin last night that these last-minute manoeuvres would in the end save the government, which appears too unstable and shot through with recriminations and distrust, to survive. Yesterday, for the first time, Mr O'Malley and Bobby

Molloy, his cabinet colleague, failed to turn up for a cabinet meeting and it will be difficult for them to go back now. "The PDs don't seem to have achieved much more than a stay of execution — the election is still on," commented one Fine Gael senator.

Before yesterday morning's events Mr Reynolds and his colleagues were reported to be planning an election this month and were expected to bring forward the three abortion referendums from December 3 to coincide with it. The delay worked into the process by the demagogue almost certainly means an election will have to be put back, possibly until December 2 or even into the new year.

The announcement by the Belfast faction of the outlawed republican splinter group, the Irish People's Liberation Organisation, that it has disbanded was being treated with extreme caution yesterday by Sinn Féin and security sources alike.

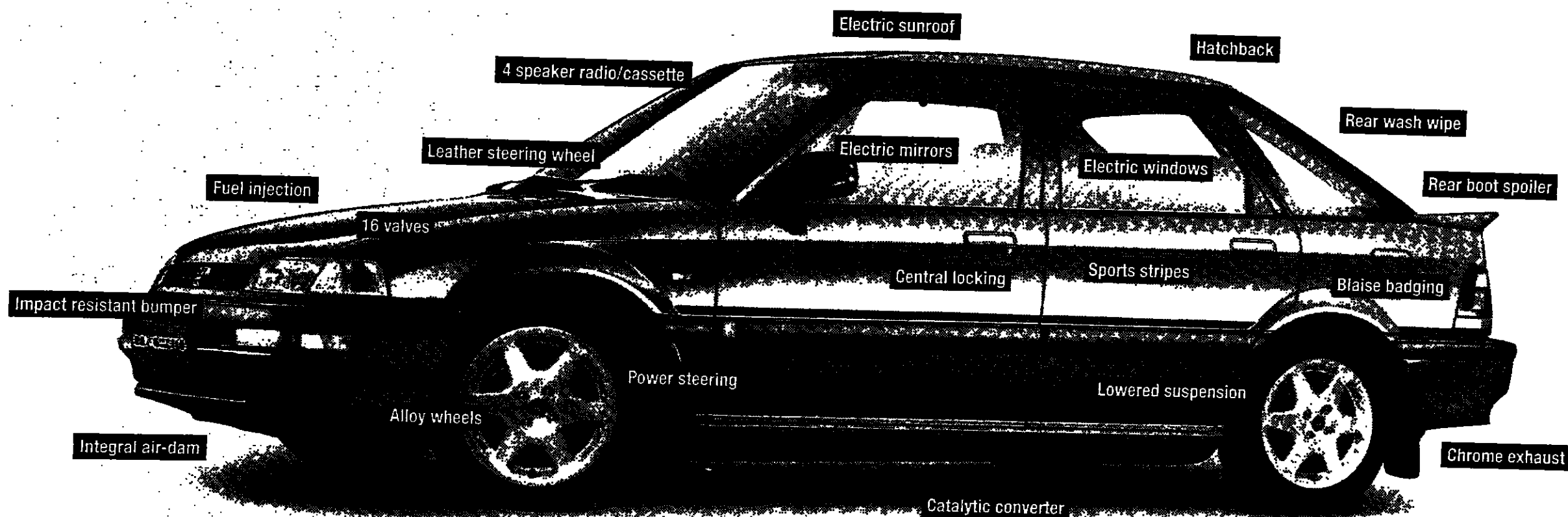
The announcement, made via a recognised codeword to a radio station late on Monday night, followed repeated calls by the IRA for the IPLO to disband and a sudden offensive by the provisionals on its members.

Leading article, page 17

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We have been through 20 months of hell, freed man's father says

Two acquitted of killing girls who died in barn fire

By ROBIN YOUNG

TWO men accused of the manslaughter of teenage twin girls who died in a barn fire were acquitted yesterday on the direction of the judge.

On the seventh day of their trial at Bristol Crown Court, Mr Justice Auld ruled that there was no case for Wisdom Smith, 20, or Daniel Winter, 19, to answer. The trial of Daniel Harper, 21, a carpenter from Uckington, Gloucestershire, continues. He is accused of the manslaughter of Rebecca and Emma Harper, 17, from Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, to whom he was not related.

Mr Smith, unemployed, from Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire, and Mr Winter, a student from Cheltenham, were also cleared on a joint arson charge and the judge directed the jury to return a not guilty verdict on an arson charge against Mr Harper.

The girls died in a barn fire at Manor Farm, Uckington, after a midnight sex session on January 24 last year. All three men had denied manslaughter and joint charges of arson reckless to whether life was endangered.

The prosecution had alleged that when the men took the girls to the Dutch barn, they were criminally reckless in lighting matches and tufts of hay and did "nothing at all" to help the girls out of danger.

After hearing legal submissions yesterday, the judge said: "I have reached the decision that there is simply not enough evidence for a jury to be invited to consider a charge of manslaughter against Smith and Winter."

On Monday, Mr Harper told the court that he twice lit

tufts of hay to see better in the darkened barn, but extinguished them after a few seconds.

Yesterday, the judge said that Mr Harper was the only defendant who might have been guilty of recklessness. "There is no evidence of Smith or Winter lighting a tuft of hay or encouraging or aiding Harper to do so," the judge said. When Mr Harper lit the first tuft, Mr Smith told him "in the clearest terms" not to be stupid and to put it out.

The judge said that any reasonable jury who returned a not-guilty verdict on the manslaughter charge would do the same on the arson charge. "The arson charge does not add anything to the prosecution case against Harper, so you need only concentrate on the manslaughter charge against him."

Neither Mr Smith nor Mr Winter spoke to waiting reporters after being discharged from the dock before the closing speeches in Mr Harper's trial began.

The two men sobbed in their families' arms as they left the court and were bundled away by cheering relatives and friends. Mr Winter's father said: "We have been through 20 months of sheer hell but I am just glad it is all over. Now we just want to get on with our lives and forget it all."

The dead girls' parents, who have attended every day of the hearing, did not comment on the verdicts.

Mr Harper's trial was adjourned until today, when the judge is expected to end his summing-up.



Freed from the dock: Daniel Winter, who wept as he was bundled away from the court by relatives



The burnt-out barn, scene of a midnight sex session, where Rebecca and Emma Harper died

Dismissed consultant reinstated

By OUR HEALTH SERVICES CORRESPONDENT

A HOSPITAL consultant dismissed by a health authority after she spoke out about poor standards of patient care is to be reinstated, Virginia Bottomley, the health secretary, has decided.

Dr Helen Zeitlin, former consultant haematologist at the Alexandra Hospital in Redditch near Birmingham, was made redundant in February 1991 after health officials said her workload had reduced. She claimed the real reason was that she had criticised nursing shortages and the health service reforms at a public meeting.

Dr Zeitlin, 44, said yesterday that the outcome of her appeal was "not just a victory for me, but for all doctors, who are worried about standards of care in their hospital".

Three threatened hospitals surrender to Tomlinson before fight begins

By JEREMY LAURANCE
HEALTH SERVICES
CORRESPONDENT

THREE of the four London teaching hospitals earmarked for closure in the Tomlinson report have accepted the proposals, which could lead to the loss of thousands of beds and widespread redundancies. The hospitals' unexpected decision to run up the white flag has confounded critics who predicted fierce opposition to the closure programme.

An independent valuation of the sites recommended for closure, made for *The Times*, suggests that their sale could release £600 million for redevelopment. However, officials are privately gloomy about the prospects of obtaining money from the Treasury to allow the reorganisation to go ahead. Brian Mawhinney, the health minister, begins a series of visits to the hospitals named in the report with a two-hour

■ London teaching hospitals are accepting that closures are inevitable as the expected opposition to the Tomlinson report fails to materialise

meeting at University College Hospital today.

Of the four teaching hospitals named in Sir Bernard Tomlinson's report, published 12 days ago, only St Bartholomew's is committed to fighting for its survival. Charing Cross, which would cease to function as a general hospital with an accident and emergency department, said that it was "behind everything proposed by Tomlinson".

St Thomas's and Guy's, recommended for merger, are working to set up a joint NHS trust, whose board will propose on which site the merged hospital is to be located. Tim Matthews, chief executive of St

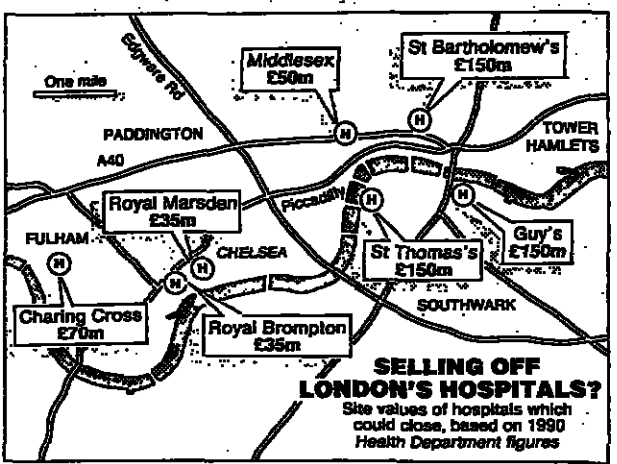
Thomas's, said that the government had in effect decided on the merger by announcing the start of consultation on the new joint trust on the day the Tomlinson report was published. "That decision is predicated on moving all clinical services to one site. We have said all along we won't oppose government decisions and will work to implement sensible change."

The closure of Middlesex Hospital, recommended by the report, had already been accepted by the University College and Middlesex hospitals' management in a plan put forward in September to rationalise the two sites. The proposed single UCH site would also absorb the Hospi-

tal for Tropical Diseases and the Royal National Throat, Nose and Ear Hospital.

The Tomlinson proposals are supported by medical, nursing and management organisations but opposed by teaching and research organisations and the unions. Apart from St Bartholomew's, only the Royal Marsden, the Royal Brompton and the Royal National Throat, Nose and Ear have declared their opposition.

Sale of Guy's or St Thomas's, St Bartholomew's, the Middlesex and either the Charing Cross or the Royal Brompton and the Royal Marsden, would raise more than £400 million, according to Richard Meara, a management consultant and author of a King's Fund report on the NHS issue. Sale of a further ten sites or part sites recommended in the report would raise £100 million to £200 million, based on health department figures at 1990 prices.



NOT long ago, my parents went to an open-air concert in Petworth Park. "It was quite extraordinary," my father said afterwards. "The other people were really so common." I asked him what was so common about them. "They had all brought fold-up chairs to sit on, and some of them had even brought tables. We were almost the only people sitting on the grass."

I said I didn't realise it was common to sit on a chair. "Oh, you should never sit in a chair when you can just sit on grass," he replied. Britain is a complicated country: no doubt most of the people sitting on chairs thought how common my father was to sit on the

The way it isn't

CRAIG BROWN



grass. Our class system is as often circular as linear: for instance, people who say "pardon?" look down on those who say "what?" without realising that a grander group of people who say "what?" are looking down on them for saying "pardon?" Those who shy away from such class-consciousness are

often doomed to invent an even battier system of their own. For instance, I shudder when people blow their noses. Couldn't they do it in private? I also find it rather common when people bounce tennis balls repeatedly on the court before serving, and when they lick their fingers before turning a page. I even feel it is a tiny bit common to wear a watch.

A friend swears that the adjective "pleasant" is as common as can be. My mother believes that it is common to say "Would you like a coffee?" It all suggests that there are not three classes in Britain, but about 55 million, each of them superior.

Leading article, page 17

Briton arrested in plutonium enquiry

A British businessman was arrested in Germany yesterday on suspicion of smuggling 80 kilograms of plutonium from Russia. According to a state prosecutor in the northern port of Flensburg, the authorities are examining documents seized at the flat of Norman Derbyshire, 51, and will decide shortly whether to charge him under laws on arms smuggling.

Such a quantity of plutonium, if enriched, could be used to make several atomic bombs. No plutonium has been found by the authorities. Mr Derbyshire is reported to be a former military diver and expert in underwater explosives who worked in Nigeria during the Biafran war. He has lived in Flensburg for two years.

There have been several cases in recent months of smuggled radioactive material from the former communist bloc being intercepted in Germany. Several people, mainly of Polish and Czech origin, have been arrested. German security officials have given a warning of such developments. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the impoverishment of scientists and technicians formerly working for its atomic and military industrial complex raises the threat of an "atomic mafia".

Patten opt-out warning

Local education authorities were warned yesterday by John Patten, the education secretary, that he would take strong action against any that intimidated or harassed schools seeking grant-maintained status. In a letter to 108 chief education officers, he said that some parents facing ballots to opt out of council control were being misled. Authorities were using access to parental registers to enable pressure groups to campaign against opting out and "threats to the future careers of staff" were being made.

Road costs overrun

New roads are costing taxpayers almost a third more than originally forecast because of unexpected cost overruns, a report published yesterday by the National Audit Office says. Of the £1.4 billion spent on new roads and maintenance by the transport department between 1991 and 1992, £85 million went on construction company cost overruns, increasing the average cost of a new road by 28 per cent, the report says. Design errors and omissions added an extra £800,000.

Library seeks funds

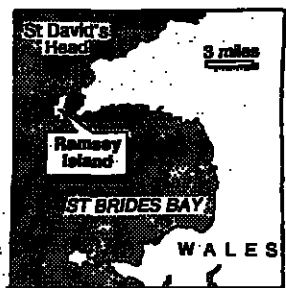
The British Library yesterday sought urgent financial support from the government to halt the depletion of its funds for preservation, research and acquisitions. The library is facing serious financial constraints as the cost of moving to a new site at St Pancras, north London, has mounted. More than 50 jobs have been lost as 6 per cent was cut off the salary budget. Brian Lang, the library's chief executive, said that the acquisition budget had been hurt the most, with a 35 per cent cut over the past six years.

Lecturers strike today

Thousands of college lecturers are to strike today over pay levels in higher education with the support of three days of campus meetings organised by five unions representing university staff and students. The National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education expects most of its 17,000 members in the former polytechnics and colleges of higher education to strike. Geoff Woolf, the general secretary, said the offer of 3.9 per cent with a further 0.75 per cent for performance related pay was an insult.

Charity eyes bird island

The Royal Society for the Protection of Birds wants to buy Ramsey, a 625-acre island off St David's Head, Dyfed, which is at present home to one woman, 80,000 rabbits, a herd of red deer, Britain's largest colony of grey seals, a flock of wild sheep, five pairs of choughs and at least 42 other species of nesting birds. The society has launched a £400,000 appeal to fund the purchase and is to make the island a nature reserve. Ramsey was farmed until recently and has been populated since AD186.



Cot deaths fall again

Cot deaths in England and Wales fell from 1,593 in 1988 to 1,008 last year, the third consecutive annual fall. The rate of deaths for every thousand live births dropped from 2.30 to 1.44, the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys said yesterday. Doctors and health visitors were sent new guidelines by the Foundation for the Study of Infant Deaths on dealing with them. "A spokesman said: 'We unfortunately still hear from many parents who have had terrible experiences with their GP or health visitor.'"

Rapist tortured victim

A sales manager who drugged his former girl friend, imprisoned her in a hotel room and tortured her with an electric stun gun before raping her in front of their two children was remanded in custody by the Central Criminal Court yesterday. The 38-year-old man, who had denied the offences, cannot be named to protect the identity of his victim, aged 21, who had ended their four-year relationship weeks before the attack. He will be sentenced after a special enquiry and medical reports.

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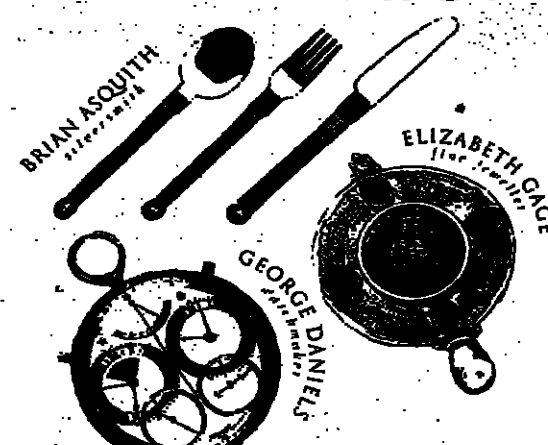
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Hillsborough coma doctors seek immunity from courts

In a test case next week, the courts will be asked to grant doctors immunity enabling them to switch off a life-supporting artificial feeding system

By FRANCES GIBB, LEGAL CORRESPONDENT

DOCTORS are to make an unprecedented request that the courts declare them immune from prosecution for murder if they switch off the feeding system of Tony Bland, the Hillsborough victim who has been in a coma for three years.

They also want the courts to grant them what would effectively be immunity from any civil action for damages if they turn off the system that is keeping him alive.

Mr Bland's parents and Yorkshire regional health authority are to seek the approval of the High Court on November 12 to disconnect the feeding tube and allow him to die. But doctors fear they are at risk of prosecution for murder or manslaughter if they disconnect the tube unless they are granted immunity.

As doctors prepare to lodge their request, the attorney-general, Sir Nicholas Lyell QC, has instructed counsel to represent him at the hearing because he wants to establish what the impact of immunity would be. In particular, prosecution authorities want to establish how such a declaration by civil courts would cut across criminal law, or bind their hands, as the case could pave the way for hundreds of similar decisions.

It is estimated that between 800 and 1,500 people are in what is called a persistent vegetative state. They are not brain-stem dead and breathe normally without a ventilator, but no longer have higher brain function.

The involvement of the at-

torney-general, whose chief concern is to ensure that the case clarifies what is a grey area, raises the stakes in what already promises to be one of the most controversial hearings in the difficult and emotive area of medicine and the law. The case is likely to proceed rapidly to the House of Lords. Dates have been set aside to allow a speedy appeal to the Court of Appeal this month.

Government lawyers are not taking a stand in the case. However, they view the hearing as a test of whether the civil courts have power to sanction individuals to carry out what could be regarded as a criminal offence.

At the heart of the case, which will be keenly watched by the medical profession, is the extent to which a doctor has a duty to carry on with artificial feeding irrespective of whether that can benefit an irreversible condition.

Doctors seeking the declaration will want to establish whether tube-feeding amounts to medical treatment, which could be lawfully withdrawn if doing no good, as argued by the British Medical Association. Such a view has been upheld in courts in the United States but has never been tested in this country. If it were held not to be treatment, doctors could face murder or manslaughter charges.

Mr Bland, 21, of Keighley, West Yorkshire, has been unconscious since he was crushed and his brain was deprived of oxygen in the disaster which killed 95 football fans in April 1989.



Royal parade: the Queen with the visiting Sultan of Brunei ride in a landau to Buckingham Palace, where last night a banquet was held in his honour

Red carpet and royal party greet the world's richest absolute ruler

By ALAN HAMILTON

THE world's wealthiest constitutional monarch met the world's richest absolute ruler on platform two at Victoria station yesterday to exchange smiles and pleasantries, but no vulgar talk of money, at the start of the first state visit here by the Sultan of Brunei.

The sultan, who rules a country the size of Norfolk with the population of Bolton and the wealth of Croesus, is a regular private visitor to Britain, where he owns several homes and the odd hotel. Officials on both sides emphasised that the invitation for his state visit had been extended more than a year ago, and had nothing to do with the sultan investing £2.8 billion of his estimated £20 billion fortune to prop up the ailing pound earlier this year.

His programme is an off-the-shelf state visit, with a banquet at Buckingham Palace last night, a wreath-laying in Westminster Abbey, and a day out in Oxford and Cranwell, when he will become a doctor of civil law and a marshal of the Royal Air Force (both titles honorary).

The sultan piloted himself into Gatwick yesterday morning in his Boeing 747, to be greeted by the Duke of York and escorted to the royal train for a ride to the official welcome at Victoria, where members of the Brunei community in Britain sat in chilly expectation beside the red carpet.

The Queen, in green, and the Duke of Edinburgh in a heavy overcoat, greeted the diminutive figure dressed in a *baju melayu*, a plain black

tunic, with black velvet songkok, the Malay equivalent of a silk top. His wife, the Raja Isteri, Queen of Brunei, wore a long black coat with a yellow silk dress peeping beneath its hem and diamonds at her throat. Indicating the importance with which the sultan views his visit, he has brought his principal wife, by whom he has six children, the Princess Mariam, a former air hostess of Scots and Japanese ancestry by whom he has four children, has remained at home on this occasion.

The sultan has also brought his sister Princess Amal and his brother Prince Jefri, the Brunei finance minister, together with nine other members of his official party. An unofficial entourage of 20, in-

cluding maids, valets and the sultan's religious adviser, are also travelling with him. Only the official party is staying at Buckingham Palace; the rest are staying in hotels. The Anglophile sultan will find the palace a modest residence of only 600 rooms. His own palace back home has 1,800, including 257 lavatories.

Clad in black morning coats, John Major, Douglas Hurd and Kenneth Clarke lined up on the platform to shake the hand of their guest under the black, yellow and white bunting of the Brunei national colours. Outside the station Major Greville Bibby of the Grenadier Guards invited the sultan in Malay to inspect the guard of honour before the open landau drive to the palace for lunch.

Game of Monopoly played with millions

By TIM JONES

Brunei diplomats were silent yesterday when asked whether His Majesty Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan and Yang De-Pertuan, Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah Inbi Al-Mahrum Sultan Haji Omar Ali Saifuddin Sa'at al-Khariri Waddien, would take time during his visit to check the guttering on his properties, like any other landlord in town.

It may be that the absolute ruler, who bought the Dorchester Hotel in Park Lane, London, and rarely stayed there before selling it to a Brunei-based investment agency for a reported £500 million, does not know how many properties he owns in this country. The best estimate is that the sultan has at least ten houses in England. Unless they have been sold

recently, at least five are in Wokingham Road, Hampshire, northwest London, where property does not come cheaply. More than three years ago, thieves broke into one and stole cash and jewellery worth more than £4 million. The other properties in the road are understood to be for the occasional use of friends and family.

When the sultan visits Britain, he is thought to stay at either The Aviary, an estate in Osterley near Heathrow, or in a mansion in Kensington Palace Gardens. He was reported recently to have paid £8 million for the neighbouring Egyptian consulate to increase his Kensington living space. He is also said to own a stately home in the unlikely location of Southall, with 47 acres of grounds.

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A RACE APART

Ministers back pay freeze to save jobs

BY NICHOLAS WOOD AND JILL SHERMAN

Public sector workers may bear the brunt of cabinet attempts to cut spending

A PROPOSED pay freeze for five million public sector workers next year provoked sharp divisions in the cabinet yesterday as ministers spent another two hours wrangling over spending cuts. But the transport department sealed its budget and saved the planned £1.7 billion Jubilee line extension to Canary Wharf in London's Docklands.

Spending ministers, led by Michael Howard, the environment secretary, supported the pay freeze as the best way of avoiding thousands of teaching and town hall job losses and of releasing some £3 billion to shore up hard-pressed programmes in other departments. But other ministers were alarmed about the political consequences of suspending independent pay review bodies covering 1.3 million state employees and risking confrontations with influential groups.

The dispute over pay and other key items will prolong the infighting until Friday at the earliest — dangerously close to the deadline for finalising Norman Lamont's Autumn Statement on November 12.

Yesterday's tussle over pay was the latest episode in a saga that has seen the cabinet

throw out the initial package of spending cuts drawn up by the EDX committee of senior ministers chaired by Mr Lamont. EDX initially proposed a 2 per cent pay ceiling, then cut that back to 1.5 per cent. But after the cabinet rejected its arithmetic for sticking to the £244.5 billion ceiling for next year, spending ministers weighed in with their own prescriptions. A pay freeze is now their preferred

option, and there are signs that the Treasury is prepared to play ball.

At least five ministers — Mr Howard, Malcolm Rifkind, the defence secretary, Gillian Shephard, the employment secretary, Virginia Bottomley, the health secretary, and John Patten, the education secretary — vetoed other proposed savings in spending programmes. They were appalled by the prospect of 15,000 job

losses in teaching and local government, bigger school classes, cuts on public sector house building, further mergers of historic regiments, cuts in defence equipment programmes, ward closures, cuts in job training programmes, and stringent curbs on council spending with big rises in the new council tax.

Meanwhile, Mr Lamont has taken charge of the parallel economic recovery package, announced by the prime minister two weeks ago. A key element will be revision of Treasury accounting rules to enable private firms to inject funds into big state construc-

tion schemes without adding to the public sector borrowing requirement. The full cabinet has yet to discuss these proposals, which are likely to include a boost for the housing market and industry. The recovery package will be announced alongside the Autumn Statement, and some tax increases have not been ruled out.

It is understood that spending ministers were irritated by the way that Mr Clarke, the home secretary, and Mr Heseltine, the president of the board of trade, had allegedly used their membership of the EDX committee to protect their departments' budgets.

One source said yesterday that under the original EDX plans, the police would have got "all they want" and Mr Heseltine's £1 billion for redundant miners would have been safeguarded. "A lot of ministers would have to sack people to make the miners redundant," the insider said.

Ministers are prepared to accept a freeze or a reduction in their own salaries. They also intend to veto the 3.9 per cent increase for MPs in January. Michael Howard, the environment secretary, has lost his battle for an extra £2 billion to cushion the impact of the council tax.

High hopes would be dashed by curbs

ABOUT £3 billion could be saved through a pay freeze, while every 1 per cent reduction in the 3.5 per cent pay assumption used in next year's spending baseline would save the exchequer about £800 million (Jill Sherman writes).

Kenneth Clarke, the home secretary, has recently agreed a 6.5 per cent pay rise for Britain's 145,000 police backdated to the beginning of September, and 40,000 firefighters were awarded a 5

per cent increase this week. Teachers and health workers have submitted high increases in evidence to their pay review bodies. Nurses have asked for 8.7 per cent, while teachers have put in bids of between 6 and 16.5 per cent for awards which are normally announced in January. University and polytechnic lecturers are disputing a pay offer of between 3.9 and 5 per cent with additional performance-related pay.

The cabinet is still undecided about whether all five review bodies which control over £30 billion of public sector pay for nurses, doctors, armed forces, top civil servants and teachers, should be suspended.



Play time: health minister Tim Yeo and three-month-old Chloe Crook help to launch an accreditation scheme for daycare playgroups and nurseries

Lib Dems seek Dutch courage

The leading Liberal Democrat was anxious. He and other party leaders have received an avalanche of mail and messages over their decision to vote with the government at the end of tonight's debate on Europe. The balance is nine-to-one against keeping an unpopular government in office.

Paddy Ashdown himself was booed by Labour MPs when he intervened in prime minister's questions. He always knew the decision would be controversial. But not only does he relish a fight, he believes it is in his party's long-term interests to be consistently pro-European.

John Smith has no less strong pro-European credentials. He also argues that it is in his party's long-term interests to be attacking the government all out, at a time when the prime minister's authority has been severely shaken.

What unites the two men is the belief that they are engaged in a long-term exercise. Anyone suggesting to Mr Smith that there might be an early general election is given a blunt, and typically earthy, answer from the Labour leader.

At most, if the government loses tonight, John Major might resign, but that "would" mean another Tory leader rather than an early general election. It is, however, hard to find anyone other than diehard opponents of the Maastricht treaty, who believes that the government will lose tonight's vote. This is more a gut instinct than a precise calculation, since there is no sign yet of the Tory rebellion fading away and, on paper, the numbers still do not add up for Mr Major. But a lot can happen today.

While Labour and Liberal Democrat leaders take the same view of what is likely to happen tonight, their difference is over tactics. Mr Smith will seek to

show his consistency by taking a strongly pro-European line. In the short-term, of course, Mr Smith can claim to have fought the good fight against Mr Major, while blaming the Liberal Democrats for giving the Tories a majority, if they win.

The risk for Mr Smith is that, if the Tories do win, Mr Major's battered authority will be enhanced, at least temporarily, while Labour will look like failed opportunists willing to compromise their pro-European beliefs. The 30- or 40-strong pro-European Labour MPs endorse Mr Smith's tactics but will emphasise their support for Maastricht and their unwillingness to oppose it on third reading. Some are also concerned that Mr Smith is being too cautious in reforming the party. His advisers say he is biding his time, gradually introducing changes. But he may face a rough press if Mr Major wins tonight.

For Mr Ashdown, the immediate risks are greater. Not only will he be blamed for enabling the government to have a majority, but prospects of co-operation between Labour and the Liberal Democrats, let alone any realignment, will be set back. He believes that his party will benefit not just from public attention but also from being seen to stick to its principles.

But the short-term fire is intense. No wonder the worried Liberal Democrat said he would have a stiff scotch at five, to see this evening before voting.

PETER RIDDELL
POLITICAL EDITOR

Simon Jenkins, page 16
Leading article and letters, page 17

Shephard to launch employment package

BY PHILIP BASSETT, INDUSTRIAL EDITOR

THE government is to introduce a new package of measures aimed at helping to stem the accelerating rise in unemployment.

Faced with large-scale job losses in the coal industry and across manufacturing and services, the government will next week unveil details of a new series of steps which ministers hope will help to answer claims that the 11 is not doing enough to revive the economy and specifically to reduce unemployment.

Ministers have not set any specific public target for the package in terms of reducing the numbers of unemployed, which stand at one in ten of the workforce, but they hope that the new measures will at the least hold back the acceleration of what they privately acknowledge to be rapidly rising unemployment figures. Gillian Shephard, the employment secretary, will announce the package next week

on the same day as the Chancellor's Autumn Statement and as the latest monthly unemployment figures are released.

Ministers believe that the package will help to defuse the expected Opposition criticism of the economic impact of the Autumn Statement and the thirteenth successive increase in unemployment. The October figures, to be published next week, are likely to add 30,000 to the total of 2.84 million out of work.

The final details of the package, which has been worked out by government officials in consultation with leaders of the Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs), the private-sector led bodies which run training programmes, are subject to the outcome of this week's negotiations between all government departments and the Treasury in advance of the autumn spending announcement.

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As fighting ebbs, Serbs and Croats clear decks for a new war

By ROGER BOYES, EAST EUROPE CORRESPONDENT,
AND MICHAEL BINYON, DIPLOMATIC EDITOR



Lord Owen: angered by defiant army chief

SERBIA and Croatia are moving slowly but surely towards a new bloody war in Slavonia. That is the most persuasive reading of events in Zagreb, Belgrade and the tired battlefronts of Bosnia.

Despite the graphic images of rain-soaked refugees and a steady beat of mortar fire, the war in Bosnia is being fought at a muted level. Since the Croatian withdrawal last month from Bosanski Brod, there have been no big pitched battles. The bombardment of Jajce — a flagrant Serbian violation of the promises made in London and Geneva — can hardly be ranked as a battle: it was a shameful aerial and heavy artillery onslaught on a thinly defended town.

The fact is the Bosnian war

is beginning to peter out. Warlords will continue to defend their terrain and there is no end to the terrorism of "ethnic cleansing", but Serb and Croat forces have achieved their primary political goals in Bosnia.

Above all, the fighting will subside soon because of the winter and, perhaps, because of a Serbian fear that the new United States administration will become more assertive and move to enforce an air exclusion zone. There is thus a chance that a political deal can be struck, that a variant of the Owen-Vance plan (to reconstitute Bosnia in its old frontiers and then divide it into ten relatively autonomous geographic and economic cantons) will be agreed, and then

■ The Serbs look increasingly likely to crack down on the Albanian majority in Kosovo. If they go ahead, their forces will be stretched, and the Croats could take advantage to regain lands lost in Slavonia

promptly ignored as Serbs and Croats shape their own mini-states on what is technically Bosnian soil.

President Tudjman of Croatia has promised to take back the land that was lost in the Serbo-Croatian war last year, by force if necessary. This is not bluff or a distant dream. He has signalled that he wants the United Nations to withdraw from Croatia in March. The Zagreb game plan, put crudely, seems to be to secure a temporary peace in Bosnia, consolidate its conquests in western Herzegovina, and

then gear up for a spring offensive in the cornfields of Slavonia.

The timing of this future war depends on political developments in Serbia. There has been wild talk in Belgrade that the power struggle between Milan Panic, the "Yugoslav" prime minister, and Slobodan Milosevic, the Serbian leader, could spill into a full Serbian civil war. That almost certainly overstates the power of Mr Panic, whose popularity is drawn largely from the disaffected middle class in Belgrade. There are

few who would fight on his behalf.

Mr Panic has the support of the "peace lobby" — the Orthodox Church, the anti-Milosevic parties and the students — but that is a fragile coalition. It is certainly not enough to stir up or fight a civil war. As an axis it would collapse if, for example, frightened Serbs in Kosovo appeal to Mr Milosevic and the army for protection from angry ethnic Albanians.

There is a strong possibility that Mr Milosevic will play this card to stay in power; it is not difficult for a man of his talents to manufacture a series of political incidents in Kosovo to provide the necessary excuse. Then all Serb patriots will have to forget their differences and protect Kosovo, the cradle of the Serbian nation. If there is to be a Serbian

crackdown in Kosovo province, the Serbian forces will be stretched. That would give the Croats the chance to snatch back their lost land in Slavonia. The decks are thus being cleared in both Zagreb and Belgrade.

In London, Lord Owen, the European Community peace negotiator, said yesterday that the insistence by the head of the Bosnian Serb army that it had created facts on the ground in setting up self-styled Serb republics in Bosnia and Croatia was an unprecedented and "naked challenge to the authority of the international community".

He told diplomatic correspondents that, as the world discovered more about mass graves, as the evidence of war crimes mounted, public opinion would not stand for an abandonment of the principles

adopted in August at the London conference. They were not just "boy scout" principles: they were right, and based on *Realpolitik*. "It is not just morally wrong to tolerate ethnic cleansing and territorial aggrandisement but it is against our vital interests. To abandon those principles would weaken us all when dealing with the problems created by the collapse of the Soviet Union."

Lord Owen, angered by the defiance of General Ratko Mladic, who said his army was a fact and it was up to the world whether to recognise that, gave a warning that nobody in the European Community or the United Nations would accept that might was right, or that a combination of brutal force and ethnic cleansing could be allowed to establish a new state.

British army in Bosnia vows aid will get through

FROM RICHARD BEESTON IN VITEZ

THOUSANDS of Bosnian refugees, fleeing from Jajce after its capture by Serbian forces, were turned back at the Croatian border yesterday, the Croat news agency Hina reported.

An estimated 10,000 people streamed out of the central Bosnian town, which fell to nationalist Serb troops last Thursday, and from Kotar Varos and Prijedor in northern Bosnia. The number of refugees was still growing.

Their flight came as British troops took up positions in Bosnia, with Lieutenant Colonel Bob Stewart, commanding officer of The Cheshire Regiment, vowing to deliver humanitarian assistance to the 130,000 Bosnian citizens and 50,000 refugees in the

town of Tuzla. Their only supply route comes under daily attack by Serb forces.

Col Stewart said: "It will be difficult to get to Tuzla, but not impossible. However, if we don't get there the cold will kill those people. So we have to get the aid there, even if it means carrying it in our armoured vehicles. If I give my word that I will be there, I will be there. If anyone tries to stop me I will get very upset."

In Geneva, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees appealed to Croatia to let refugees enter the country, saying that they were "fleeing for their lives".

Ron Redmond, a UNHCR spokesman, said the refugee situation was chaotic and food and supplies were short. Up to 10,000 refugees were still in Travnik, northwest of Sarajevo, and thousands more had sought temporary shelter in a nearby coal mine.

New arrivals at British army headquarters in Vitez are more likely to be hit by a stray football than an artillery round as they enter the gate into what was a school. At first glance the forward party of soldiers of The Cheshire Regiment, together with specialist officers from the army medical corps, engineers and signals, do not look as though they have been placed in the centre of Europe's deadliest war zone. For now the sentry's only job is to fend off curious children with sweets.

But the fact that the countryside around Vitez bears an uncanny resemblance to rural Northern Ireland is a constant reminder to Col Stewart of the very real dangers that can lurk even in the most tranquil landscape. "I had six men killed and 35 injured when I was a company commander at the Ballykelly bombing — that is a lot of casualties out of 100 men," he said, recalling the 1982 bombing of a discotheque and explaining his decision to make the town's bars off-limits.

Col Stewart is well aware that the friendly greetings and courteous reception from local people are probably a honeymoon period before the mission begins in earnest.

But the arrival in the coming days of the bulk of the 2,400 British soldiers, and in particular the 12 Scimitar light tanks and 45 Warrior armoured personnel carriers, the force operating out of Vitez and across the badlands of central Bosnia will be transformed into a very different unit.

□ Sarajevo: The last animal in the zoo here, a brown bear, has died of starvation. (Reuters)



Panic: Montenegrin deputies saved him

Vote strips Panic of power

FROM TIM JUDAH IN BELGRADE

MILAN Panic, the prime minister of what remains of Yugoslavia, kept his job but lost any semblance of power yesterday, after surviving a vote of no-confidence by a margin of one. "We were just showing him that he is very near to the end of his political career here," said a leading member of Serbia's Socialist party, Mihaljo Markovic.

Serb nationalists and ruling socialists voted against Mr Panic in the lower house yesterday he was saved by Montenegrin deputies in the upper house which rejected the no-confidence motion by 8 votes to 17.

Mr Panic's policies on Croatia, Albanians in Kosovo and his willingness to accept the Croatian and Bosnian frontiers enraged Serbs.



War game: A Bosnian child amusing himself in what remains of a car destroyed by a mortar in Sarajevo. Battles continued yesterday despite a UN request to observe a week of tranquillity for the city's children

Yeltsin ready for deal on reforms

FROM ANNE McELVOY IN MOSCOW

RUSSIAN reformists are close to a compromise with the powerful industrial lobby aimed at warding off a threat from the hard right, a leading figure in the Civic Union, the main conservative rival to President Yeltsin's radical government, said yesterday.

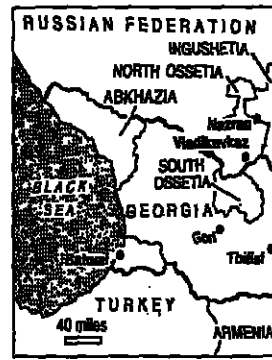
Aleksandr Vladislaviev, an executive of the union which is dominated by former Communist captains of industry and favours a slower pace of economic change, said he believed that Mr Yeltsin appreciated the need to change course to keep his government in office over the winter. He told *Konsomolskaya Pravda* newspaper: "The government has realised the mistakes and reached certain conclusions. A compromise already exists."

On the political front, Russia was in the grip of twin crises in the Caucasus as the Russian military chief threatened to use force to take back an ammunition dump seized by Georgian forces, and fighting continued in the North Ossetia region.

Colonel Vasil Belchenko said Georgia was pursuing "a deliberately anti-Russian policy" by seizing the huge arms dump, in the south of the republic, which contains 600 railway trucks filled with ammunition. Pavel Grachev, the Russian defence minister, has threatened to use planes, tanks and artillery to retrieve the weapons.

Inside Russia's borders, fighting continued for the fourth day in North Ossetia despite an official ceasefire. The Interfax news agency said ten Russian army and interior ministry troops had been killed in battles between Ingush rebels and Ossetians.

In a development which confirms that the government and its challengers are coming closer, President Yeltsin yesterday met Civic Union leaders in the Kremlin to discuss their "anti-crisis economic pro-



gramme". This document will propose changes to government policy at a time when public dissatisfaction with soaring inflation and tumbling industrial output is growing.

A deal with the union looks unavoidable if Mr Yeltsin is to avoid a head-on clash with far-right conservatives at the Congress of People's Deputies which convenes next month to decide the fate of his administration. Having fought off the union's challenge since the spring, he appears to consider a deal the lesser of two evils, given the grim determination of nationalists and communists to unseat him. Any alliance with the union would make the government less vulnerable, but it is a risk, given its members' strong differences with the Yeltsin government.

While Yegor Gaidar, the acting prime minister, has built up a reform package based on financial stabilisation and allowing non-competitive companies to be wound down to recast the country's heavy industrial base on more modern lines, the industrial lobby wants to increase investment and credits to former Soviet enterprises and maintain output.

The Civic Union's main activists are Arkadi Vol'sky, a prominent figure under Mikhail Gorbachev's presidency, and Aleksandr Rutskoi, the vice-president, who has been calling for sweeping changes in the cabinet.

Deaf mute enters parliament in Italy

FROM PHILIP WILLAN IN ROME

THE death of the administrative secretary of the Socialist party, Vincenzo Balzamo, means that for the first time ever a deaf mute will take up a seat in the Italian parliament.

Stefano Bottini, 36, a warehouseman from the northern city of Bergamo, will address his parliamentary colleagues through a sign language interpreter. "You'll see, I will make them slow down. They will have to stop and listen to me," Signor Bottini said on receiving news that he would be entering parliament.

Signor Bottini is the second Socialist politician to get a seat in parliament as the result of the death of party colleagues caught up in an investigation into corruption that has damaged the reputation of the Socialist party more than any other. Balzamo, 63, who died on Monday, was under investigation for alleged corruption and violation of the law on the financing of political parties. He died of a heart attack.

Two months ago Sergio Moroni, a Socialist deputy, shot himself dead while under investigation for alleged corruption in local government.

Bonn court rejects appeal

Bonn: The west German federal court has dismissed the appeal of two former east German border guards against their conviction for the shooting of people trying to escape (Anatol Lieven writes). The judgment has implications for the trial on the same charge of Erich Honecker, the former East German leader, which is due to begin in Berlin next week.

Leader jailed

Sofia: Georgi Atanasov, 59, the former Bulgarian prime minister, has been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for misappropriating aid for orphanages. (Reuters)

Trials planned

Budapest: Hungary plans to try officials who crushed the 1956 revolt against communist rule for crimes against humanity, the justice minister, said. (Reuters)

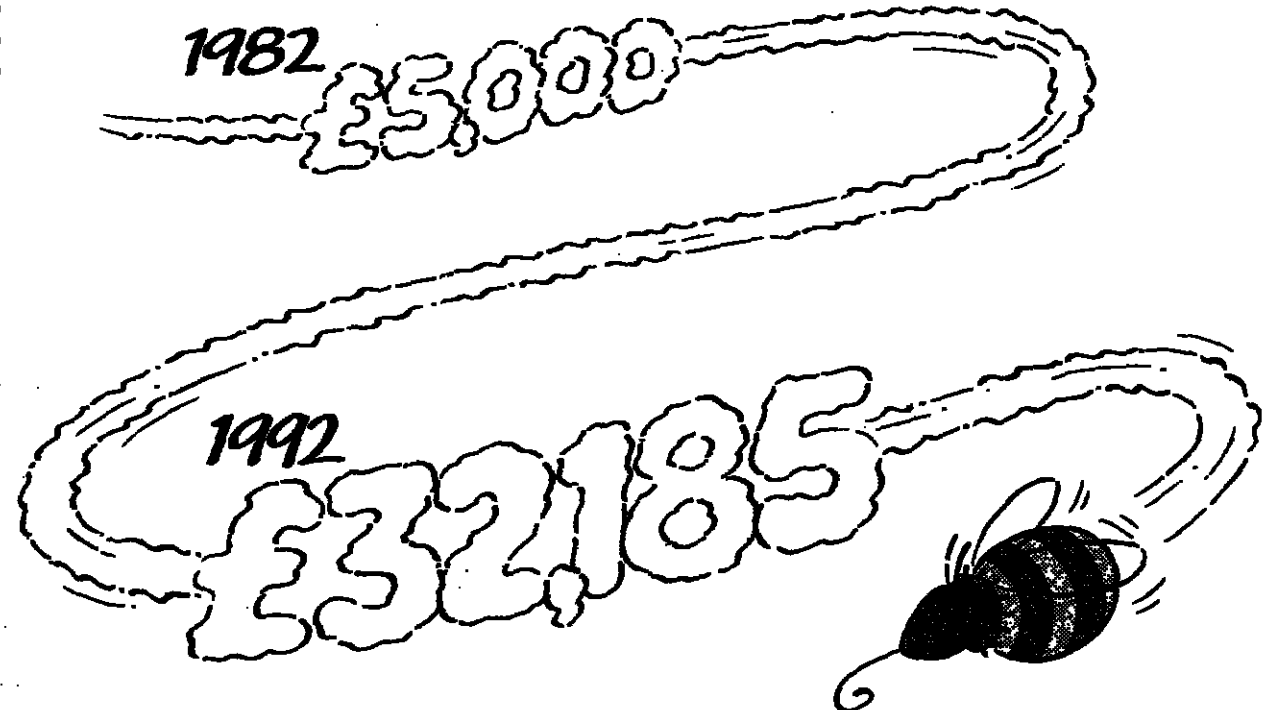
City apologises

Rostock: The mayor of this German city, where neo-Nazis rioted, has apologised to Jews for an official's comment that the home of German Jews was Israel. (Reuters)

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Cambodia peace plan unravels as Khmer Rouge threat lingers

By DAVID WATTS, DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT

IN WHAT could be a fatal blow for the United Nations peace plan for Cambodia, the Phnom Penh government has demanded an end to the disarming of the four Cambodian factions and wants help to fight a rumoured Khmer Rouge offensive.

At a press conference in the capital, Phnom Penh, the prime minister, also said that the communist Khmer Rouge should be expelled from the Supreme National Council, the body on which all four factions are represented and which is helping to rule the country until UN-supervised elections are held in May.

Mr Khieu said the government will make these proposals at a weekend meeting in Peking. The meeting has been called by the United Nations.

Phnom Penh is demanding action against the Khmer Rouge. It could mark the end of the UN peacekeeping role

France and Indonesia as a last-ditch attempt to persuade the Khmer Rouge to join wholeheartedly in bringing peace to the country after 13 years of conflict. It is the meeting falls to get the Khmer Rouge to comply, the UN has threatened action, so far unspecified, against the communist guerrilla group. Acceptance of the Cambodian government's proposals at the meeting would mean the effective end of the up to \$2 billion (£1.3

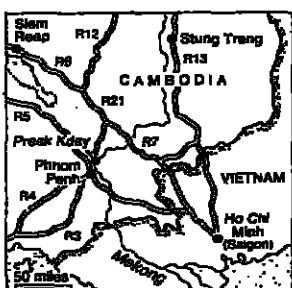
billion) peacekeeping effort in Cambodia, billed as the most expensive such operation undertaken to date.

The Khmer Rouge has violated the peace agreements from the beginning. In some of the most serious breaches in recent weeks their fighters blew up bridges on key highways, effectively cutting off the Khmer Rouge-controlled northeast from the rest of the country. In other incidents Khmer Rouge guerrillas have resumed their xenophobic attacks on Vietnamese residents, murdering families and kidnapping Vietnamese fishermen. The group has also refused to allow any of its guerrillas to be disarmed and to be lodged in UN-supervised barracks: hence the government has allowed only 44,000 of its 120,000 troops to come under UN supervision.

"We want the troops which have been canoned up to now to go back to their positions," Mr Khieu said. "If the Khmer Rouge continue their attacks, it is necessary that we counter that." He said the UN mandate should be amended so that UN peacekeepers can provide training and arms to the government and the two other non-communist guerrilla groups — Prince Norodom Sihanouk's faction and Son Sann's Khmer People's National Liberation Front — that have been supporting the peace process. The Khmer Rouge says it will not co-operate with the UN peacekeeping operation until it is given more power over the government in the period before the May elections.

UN officials last night disputed claims by the government that the Khmer Rouge had attacked a suburb of the capital on October 27. A UN peacekeeping source was quoted as saying that it was likely that the government had staged the attack, in which three people were injured, as part of a large-scale "disinformation campaign" designed to spark a war with the Khmer Rouge.

The government had claimed that Khmer Rouge guerrillas had attacked Preaek Kday village, about 14 miles north of Phnom Penh. Eric Falt said that no burn marks had been found at the scene.



Business keeps royal pair busy in Seoul

FROM JOANNA PITMAN IN SEOUL

KILLED bagpipers were piping stately in the drizzle outside, Elgar's *Pomp and Circumstance* was booming inside, and Miss United Kingdom, fresh off a 13-hour flight from London, had clambered into tottering high heels and a spangled pink costume. So skimpily was her attire that Korean security officials seemed uncertain whether the generous display of corset was legal in a country that only five years ago was run by military dictatorship.

The Best of Britain was on display yesterday at a Seoul department store promotion opened by the Princess of Wales. Doing her bit for British exports, she dutifully admired products ranging from anti-freeze and toffees to plastic reproductions of the Rosetta stone. "Ah, isn't she just splendid?" sighed a moist-eyed Eichi Akiyama, vice-president of the Lotte department store, standing transfixed by the sight of the princess's elegantly stockinged legs and slimming navy velvet skirt. "There is no need to be nervous. A princess who walks and smiles like that is a fellow human being," he announced to an audience of Japanese-speaking shop assistants.

If the shop stewards' pulses were drumming, it was because all eyes were glued to the alluring profile of Miss United Kingdom, and they remained utterly disinterested in the latest British newspaper reports of the Windsor family's marital crises, assignments, extravagances and embarrassing photographs.

For most Koreans, memories of their own royal families are fading rapidly. The Yi dynasty, the last in a long line of dynasties which date back 2,000 years, was abruptly terminated in 1910 when the Japanese invaded Korea, and King Kojong was forced to abdicate.

Although most Koreans have been too busy this week getting on with the business of making money to give much thought to the Prince and Princess of Wales on the first official royal visit to Korea, a



Regal rendezvous: the Princess of Wales at a banquet hosted by President Roh Tae Woo last night. South Koreans are uninterested in her reported marriage problems

few meagre crowds had done their homework yesterday, and had gathered on street corners to catch a gleam of gold and a flash of scarlet as the royal limousines whizzed past.

"I'm so happy to see Diana and Philip," sighed Kyung Shin, who appeared to have omitted a vital part of her homework on the royal couple. "Maybe they have some marriage problems, but it's none of our business," David Chaer, the Independent Television News reporter, was more bold, asking the Princess if she was "really happy to be here, Ma'am." She replied briefly: "Yes, thank you." The royal couple visited President Roh Tae Woo and his wife yesterday morning, and then while the princess was busy in the department store, the prince met senior Korean business leaders, and discussed environmental problems and a recycling project. The country generates the world's highest

per capita consumer waste. During the afternoon, they braved vicious cold winds to visit the Gloster Memorial north of Seoul, which commemorates the brave defence against Chinese attack of Castle Hwang in April 1951, by the heavily outnumbered "Glorious Glosters" members of the First Battalion of the Gloucestershire Regiment. Today the royal visitors continue the commercial flavour of their visit with the opening of a Britain For Korea Fair.

Opposition calls strike over Indian price rises

Delhi India's main opposition party paralysed much of the country yesterday in a strike called to protest against rising prices and the government's economic policies (Christopher Thomas writes).

The hardline Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), a Hindu revivalist group that controls some of the biggest states in northern and central India, called the strike. It went out of its way to control violence, often a hallmark of BJP events, as part of a strategy to increase its appeal among moderate Hindus, and the strike passed off peacefully.

Removal of government subsidies, cornerstone of socialist policies since independence in 1947, has pushed up prices of basic commodities. Pressure from the International Monetary Fund, which has advanced substantial loans, prompted the government to end subsidies. But the strike is unlikely to bring about changes in the government's economic policy.

Pact on radar

Moscow: Russia and Cuba signed agreements on economic co-operation, and agreed that a Russian radar station would remain in Cuba. But trade negotiations on Russian oil and Cuban sugar were postponed. The fate of a Russian submarine base was not discussed. (AFP)

Minister killed

Kabul: General Khan Mohammad, Afghanistan's deputy national security minister, was killed in a car bomb explosion, a news agency run by the Hezb-i-Islami dissident faction reported. He headed the Khad secret police in the former communist regime. (AFP)

Tunnel found

Jerusalem: Israel has found a tunnel linking the occupied Gaza Strip to Egypt, used by Palestinian activists to smuggle in weapons and as an escape route for those wanted for their part in the five-year-old intifada. Israeli security sources said. (Reuters)

Cut to size

Bangkok: Sweeping powers of the Thai military have been revoked by the government elected in September after bloody pro-democracy riots. For all internal security operations, the armed forces must now seek approval from the cabinet. (Reuters)

Force retreats

Maputo: Afonso Dhlakama, the Mozambique guerrilla leader, said his Renamo forces have withdrawn from a northern town seized by his movement after a ceasefire last month. The army has now regained control of three of four towns which Renamo occupied in violation of the ceasefire. (Reuters)

Death charge

Islamabad: A Pakistani court has sentenced a Christian to death for blasphemy against the Prophet Muhammad. Qil Masih was arrested on a private complaint in December. The charge which then carried a maximum life sentence was amended by parliament to death in July. (Reuters)

Hush puppies

Stockholm: A welfare department in the small town of Hasselholm has opened a daycare centre for dogs after social workers said some owners lit guilts at leaving their pet at home when they went to work, the newspaper *Aftonbladet* reported. (AP)

Buying time for TV addicts in China

FROM CATHERINE SAMPSON IN PEKING

FROM tomorrow, China's couch potatoes have another reason to stay put: television shopping.

Two television channels are due to start broadcasting the programme *The Television Store*. If viewers see something they like, they can ring the number on the screen and the goods will be delivered to their door — and fitted, if necessary — free of charge.

Customer satisfaction is in short supply in China. Shop assistants are more likely to snarl than smile, and shoppers have to push their way through crowded aisles to buy goods that often fall apart as soon as they get home.

In the old days of Maoist ideology, there was a feeling that people should suffer if they were going to do anything as bourgeois as shopping. But the arrival of the much-wanted "socialist market economy" at last month's Communist party congress quickened the pace towards a shamelessly materialist, consumer-oriented society.

Television shopping, however, is only for the man who has everything. For a start you need a television — now common in the rich cities, but still a luxury in poor rural areas. There are roughly 13 television sets for every 100 Chinese. And then you need a telephone. The comfort of television shopping will be eroded for those viewers who have to stagger out in the cold to the local public telephone to place an order. Fewer than

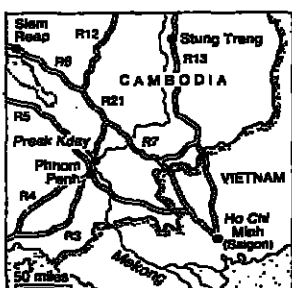
one in ten households has a telephone, even in Peking. There are long waiting lists, and installation costs £550.

The new "spend, spend, spend" mentality is evident in Peking's new Western-style department store, complete with such unheard of luxuries as changing rooms and shop employees who assist rather than obstruct. Here, Peking's yuppies browse among the leather-covered sofas, choose wallpaper for their tiny flats, or try out a few notes on a piano for the kids.

But consumerism has left some people confused. The citizens of Qingdao were perplexed last month when a military jet flew overhead instead of dropping bombs dropped leaflets and costume jewellery wrapped in handkerchiefs. People were amazed to discover it was all an advertising gimmick for the local state-run department store. The store had to get approval in advance from the commercial bureau, the police, the traffic bureau, and the tax bureau before they could carry out their advertising innovation.

Not everyone was happy, however. Some people, reported one newspaper, thought the advertising technique a good thing. But others were worried.

"It's okay if one or two stores do this," said one man, "but imagine if every store did this in a big city. There wouldn't be room in the sky for all the planes."



Ghana voters savour chance to deliver verdict on austere Rawlings medicine

By SAM KILEY, AFRICA CORRESPONDENT

GHANAIANS went to the polls yesterday in a presidential election which was a test of the personality cult of President Rawlings, the incumbent, and the strict economic discipline he has imposed on the country since 1981.

Officials said the turnout appeared far higher than the 44 per cent who voted in April's referendum to approve a new multiparty constitution. But some of the 8.3 million voters may vote more than once as many names on the voters' roll are non-existent or dead people.

Mr Rawlings resigned his air force commission in September to be eligible to run for the presidency. As Fli Lt Rawlings he had become synonymous with a firm hand in implementing harsh structural adjustment programmes in which many civil service jobs were lost and prices of basic commodities were brought into line with market forces. But having taken the economic medicine prescribed by the World Bank and the

International Monetary Fund, Mr Rawlings may have sown the seeds of his own destruction. He is popular in the rural areas but less so in the cities where his economic policies caused most hardship. The overnight lifting of bread subsidies, for example, caused its price to quadruple. This sparked bread riots and a violent response from the security forces. His human rights record has been much criticised.

A senior diplomat in Accra said: "Ghana is doing OK, but whoever wins tomorrow will have to cope with the fact that there will be a loud opposition trying to force it out of government while it has to cope with more economic retrenchment. Forcing through structural adjustment programmes would start something near a revolution in Britain or France. It is worrying to think of what they will mean here."

When the polls opened yesterday at 5am many voters had already been queuing for more than two hours to make their thumbprint on the single ballot paper.

Later a European diplomat in Accra said: "So far things have gone pretty smoothly, with no real problems and a tremendous sense of responsibility on the part of the voters."

Ghana, formerly the British colony of the Gold Coast, has been much troubled by military coups since the late

1960s. His human rights record has been much criticised.

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Kwame Nkrumah, its first president, took power in 1946. Mr Rawlings staged a coup in 1979 and executed three former heads of state, before handing back the reins of government to civilians. But in 1981 he again emerged from the barracks and took power by force.

Since then he has been credited for cleaning out most of the institutional corruption in Ghana, but at a cost which now pits him against Professor Albert Adu Boahen, his greatest critic.

Professor Boahen, a historian, and leader of the New Conservative party, has been in the vanguard of human rights criticism of the Rawlings administration, but his campaign style has not been a match for the charismatic fighter pilot.

Mr Rawlings, 45, needs to win more than 50 per cent of the vote. Less than that would mean a run-off and the runner-up would gain from small parties' opposition to the president.



Nkrumah: legacy of military coups

Fragile truce holds in Angola

FROM MILES BREDIN IN LUANDA

CALM returned to Luanda yesterday after three days of violence in which Unita rebels lost the battle for control of the Angolan capital. More than 1,000 people were killed in the fighting.

Efforts to cement the fragile ceasefire were continuing, with the ruling MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and Unita holding secret negotiations to exchange prisoners. However some embassy staff maintained that fighting was continuing outside the capital.

Charred bodies and devastated buildings yesterday revealed the extent of the violence. The Turismo hotel, scene of much of the fighting, has been reduced to a shell, while the Unita headquarters in the São Paulo district lies in a street littered with the burnt

bodies of Unita soldiers. Looters wrecked the mansion of Jonas Savimbi, the Unita leader. The blue tiles depicting pastoral Portuguese scenes which decorated the walls are now cracked by bullets; shepherds and their maidens look down on floors covered with Unita Savimbi stickers, rubble and blood.

Meanwhile two Britons, David and Eleanor Chambers, who were held hostage by Unita, are recovering in the British embassy. They were used as cover for the escape of two top Unita generals. After 24 hours as hostages in a house under bombardment they were crammed into a Toyota in Dr Savimbi's drive. With two other cars containing among others Dr Savimbi's nephew, Salapeto Pieno, they were driven in a

100mph chase through a mile-long hail of fire. Their car, by this time riddled with bullets, crashed at 80mph down a 12-ft drop when the driver was killed.

"We were the only survivors," said Mr Chambers. But their troubles were by no means over. Presumed to be Unita supporters, they were pounced on by MPLA police and vigilantes who wanted to kill them and were only saved by the intervention of an MPLA general who took them to hospital in an armoured car with naked, captured Unita soldiers strapped to the roof.

After another 24 hours spent as prisoners in a military hospital under attack, the couple were taken to the British embassy — Eleanor with a broken wrist and David with head wounds.

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The princess of presenters

There's been much huffing and puffing over Selina Scott this past week. Since the announcement that she is to be the presenter of a new BBC1 show, *Entertainment Express*, would-be rivals have totted up her earnings and declared they simply cannot understand the girl's success.

Come along, dears, use your eyes! The attraction of Selina Scott is blindingly obvious: we are mesmerised by who she looks like. When she appears on the screen the great British viewing public thinks it's watching the Princess of Wales.

From the first morning she popped up on *Breakfast Time* wearing her prim early 1930s Montessori nanny frock, the evidence was striking, and it's been growing ever since. Every time the princess has changed her hairstyle or her taste in clothes, so has Selina. Sometimes Selina has been in the lead, with the princess following. As the hair-styles moved from ingénue Sloane through bouffé glamourpuss and on to the current businesslike crop, the impression has been confirmed over and over again: it's a cut and blow-dried case of separation at birth.



SARAH MOWER

It's not just a question of hair, either. Spookily, both the princess and Ms Scott have gravitated towards the same designer, Catherine Walker, whose neat, never-too-short suits and sinuous beaded evening dresses show off the similarities in their reed-slim, long-waisted, long-legged figures.

For a while, because they looked so good, both twins became involved in working with fashion. Diana set herself the task of promoting British fashion by wearing lots of it. Selina took a job with *The Clothes Show*. Their paths even crossed at a British Fashion Awards ceremony in the late 1980s when, similarly attired, they met, giggled and blushed in unison.

Fashion, however, came to be a thorn in their respective sides. A wall went up that they wanted to be treated seriously. Selina insisted on reminding people of her credentials as a journalist. Diana wanted to be seen as a serious charity worker, not a clothes horse. Recently, Selina withdrew from *The Clothes Show* and Diana has put the brakes on her frock bills.

Both remain accomplished flirts — legendary joshers, flutterers of eyelashes and blushing rebutters of compliments. Both are also hard-working: Diana toils relentlessly for her charities,

while Selina has a grinding weekly schedule of four nights' presenting on Sky TV, plus her new job with *Entertainment Express* — as well as running her own production company. Finally, if we consider conduct in private life, it has to be admitted that, given recent developments, Selina's standards of discretion have actually out-royaled the royals. This single fact should be enough to raise our suspicions. Could it be that in 1981 the Prince of Wales chose the wrong twin?

Prince Andrew, perhaps, was the first to notice. When Selina interviewed him on *Wogan*, he enjoyed every minute of the experience (what larks they had!) and reported home. Charles, intrigued, couldn't wait for a closer look. When Selina approached the Prince through her own production company for permission to make a film about the Scottish isles with him, he agreed. The result, *Prince*

Among Islands, showed Charles waxing lyrical about the landscape and casting a misty eye over the beautiful, country-loving doppelgänger for his wife.

The Prince's findings must have been favourable. Word seems to have gone out to the extended firm that Selina is OK.

One of Us. Why else has she so effortlessly scored another royal coup — winning the permission of King Juan Carlos to make a documentary with him. *The Year of Spain*, which will be shown before Christmas?

I rest my case — other than to suggest a little idea that would solve all the trouble at KP (Kensington Palace) at a stroke. Why don't Diana and Selina swap places? Overnight, the Prince would find himself with a wife nearer his own age, who shares his bucolic interests and wouldn't mind Balmoral in the slightest. Selina, for her part, would receive her just deserts for being such a good girl all these years. She could stop driving herself to make all that money and maybe take herself a little less seriously, too.

Diana? Well — with the chance to realise all that potential as a television star, just watch her go! On *Entertainment Express*, interviewing Hollywood actors, ballet dancers and pop stars (all the people she already knows) she'd be an instant wow, not to mention a much freer person. And with Princess Selina on Charles's arm and presenter Diana on the box, no one would ever notice the difference.

Selina strikes back, page 28

Roll up for the rubber rave

Kink has arrived on the fashion scene.

Alice Thomson joined the fetishists to take a close look

You try to be open-minded... but when the man in front of you in the queue for the cloakroom is dressed from head to toe in blood-red rubber, including full-length red gloves, red Balacava, and red stiletto boots, it is a little difficult. Or when you are waiting for a drink at the bar and a leather-clad man walks past with his wife on a studded leather collar and lead it is hard not to appear surprised. Welcome to The Rubber Ball, the biggest thrash ever held for leather and rubber fetishists, which took place on Monday night.

Fetish clothing is moving into fashion mainstream. The bondage clothing boom has been inspired by designers such as Jean Paul Gaultier, who attended, and Vivienne Westwood, who experimented with rubber, leather, PVC and shiny Lycra in the late 1980s. Then Michelle Pfeiffer wore a PVC catsuit to play Catwoman in *Batman Returns* and bought fetish wear to the high street.

The ball, at Hammersmith Palais, west London, was a celebration of rubber's coming out. It was organised by *Skin Two*, a high-gloss magazine for fetishists, and the proceeds will go to the Multiple Sclerosis Society and the Cruisaid AIDS charity. More than 2,000 people attended and there was a strict dress code: rubber, leather, fetish glamour or full evening dress. The clientele was more eclectic. Among those I met were a television presenter (fully masked), an accountant from Manchester, a group of trendy London clubbers and a construction worker from Bradford.

Buying something to wear to the ball was traumatic. The *Skin Two* boutique does everything it can to allay fears. Classical music plays in the background, there is no whip in sight and people are left to browse through tastefully arranged rails.

After much dithering I picked out a long rubber dress and disappeared into the changing room. Getting into rubber is a calorie-burner. First you have to apply talcum powder to stop the rubber sticking. Then you have to roll on the garment carefully and struggle with the zip, and finally you have to buff up your second skin with Mr Sheen. Once into the garment I felt very safe but I realised that rubber wasn't really me. It smelt too like washing-up gloves and my skin felt itchy and hot. So I chose a demure PVC skirt instead.

I arrived at the party with a bevy of shop assistants all in PVC or lycra costumes. "We've come here for a laugh, it's not often you get the chance to dress up," Elaine Thompson said. "I wanted to see what everybody else would be wearing."

Lorna Parry said. For many of the people the party was just one giant fancy dress ball. When people got tired of looking at one another there was a fashion show, three bands and a dance floor packed with catsuited creatures.

There were also backless and bottomless dresses held together only



Showing a leg, and a kinky boot: nothing was barred at the fetish people's Rubber Ball. Here the lady in red takes on a new meaning

by straps, young men showing off their puny legs in leather hot pants, macho men clanking with chains, ethereal women in 19th-century ballgowns and Scots in kilts and thigh-length boots. There was a small contingent of gays and transvestites but most were heterosexual couples.

In one corner two teenage girls in beehives and multi-coloured dresses were sipping beers with their fortysomething mother. "This reminds me of the old Chelsea arts balls. Everybody has made such an effort," says Mrs Kurris dressed in skintight catsuit and feather boa.

The fashion show was an extravaganza of multi-coloured fetish — from rubber jodhpurs and stockings to leather capes. Krystina Kistis, the designer for Ectomorph, said: "These clothes are about having fun. In the 1960s there was Diana Rigg in *The Avengers*, in the 1970s Malcolm McLaren borrowed elements of bondage clothing for the punk look. Now we want something to accentuate our well-exercised bodies. I see it as an extension to frilly underwear and high heels."

There were stranger sights, such as the middle-aged couple from Dunstable. She was the mistress, he the servant. They did not want to be named but were quite happy to discuss their relationship. "We have

been happily married for 20 years and most of the time we lead very normal lives. But occasionally it is fun to act out your fantasies, isn't it?" she said. He added: "It's all good clean fun and we make sure we don't do it in front of the children."

Behind the stage there was a woman harnessing a man to a cart and there was the red spiderman that I had met in the queue to the cloakroom.

This, according to *Skin Two's* editor, Tim Woodward, is part and parcel of a growing fascination with sadomasochism. As Aids has made people less promiscuous, it has made them more inventive with their chosen partner. In London alone there are now nine clubs catering for Marquis de Sade-inspired fantasies and *Skin Two* sold more than 30,000 copies of its last magazine, which also caters for the S and M market.

This is the bit that is hardest to cope with. A little harmless rubber yes, but the connotations are alarming. Mr Woodward disagrees: "People who are into fetishists or into a little light S and M are not insane perverts or criminals. They are usually loving couples of all ages who are in long-term relationships and feel secure enough to act out some of their sexual fantasies. It is not a perversion, it is a hobby like golf or gardening."



All pals at the Palais: silver and black were the colours of the night for one guest, left. The young man was much happier in tiger green



Full-blown art of rock spectaculars

With inflatables, lasers, gantries and girders, arena stage sets have developed into a branch of architecture

In terms of design, if not content, the rock concert has come an awfully long way since the days when we were all thrilled to file into a plush Odeon in somewhere like Hammersmith and listen to our heroes in their grey shiny suits reproduce with an accuracy now unknown their recent number one, together with the more commercial tracks from the upcoming LP (on sale in the foyer at 32/6). Sometimes a little dry ice, played upon by a strobe light, induced a barely suppressed frenzy: innocent days indeed.

The extent to which these almost cosy gatherings have exploded into the most awesome feats of engineering and accountancy is glowingly illustrated in a new book called *Rock Sets* — subtitled with justification "The Astonishing Art of Rock Concert Design". Here we have in lurid colour the creations of the masters of this rarefied branch of architecture: Fisher Park. Their first rock set was for Pink Floyd's *The Wall* world tour of 1980-81; their most recent was U2's *Zoo TV* Outside Broadcast. In between, the company created the sets for Stevie Wonder's

Hotter Than July, Jean Michel Jarre's Chinese concert, George Michael's Faith tour, Tina Turner's Foreign Affair and the Rolling Stones' Steel Wheels world tour.

The sets have become ever more vast and spectacular, while the special effects now defy all reason. And thanks to the most sophisticated sound equipment, the performers are now entirely audible.

Mark Fisher and Jonathan Park are respectively a 45-year-old architect and a 51-year-old graduate in mechanical sciences who, during the 1960s, were independently exploring the possibilities of the inflatable. Mr Fisher had been much taken with a colossal blow-up reclining woman designed by Piers Gough. Mr Fisher's subsequent 46 ft inflatable submarine did not look much like a submarine, but the scale and the novelty of such creations ensured publicity.

Mr Fisher went on to design inflatables for stage shows

including *Jesus Christ, Superstar* and *The Rocky Horror Show*, while Mr Park was busy with such things as inflatable bridges and domes. When eventually the two met, it must have seemed but a short and logical step to collaborate upon a giant inflatable pig for Pink Floyd's *Animals* tour of 1977; this pig famously broke its moorings at Battersea Power Station, blithely gliding across the Heathrow flight path before finally landing in Kent.

From designing gantries, lighting systems and enormous inflatable props, Fisher Park were soon creating the entire environment for rock concerts. Promoters had known since the 1960s that the only way a concert could be made seriously profitable was to take it into a stadium. But the Beatles' fiasco at Shea Stadium illustrated the problems: there were 45,000

shrieking fans, most of whom could not see the group, and none of whom could hear a note. Pink Floyd and Fisher Park broke that mould and almost from the beginning someone had the foresight to photograph highlights of all their tours. To enjoy these colossal constructions and colours to the full, this celebratory book should be looked at with a favourite album playing far too loudly, preferably to the accompaniment of a cascade of fireworks.

JOSEPH CONNOLLY
Rock Sets: The Astonishing Art of Rock Concert Design by Jonathan Park and Mark Fisher. Published November 9 by Thames and Hudson (£10.95)
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"Ruby": created by Fisher Park for the Rolling Stones



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As the great and the good prepare to meet church leaders to debate Anglican liturgy, Ruth Gledhill looks at the shape of worship to come

Praying for divine guidance

The most embarrassing part of a church wedding service today is not the couple whispering their vows inaudibly, the solemn kiss or the hung over bridegroom, but the moment when the congregation says the Lord's Prayer. Gone are the days when all present could happily join in the "Our Father", confident that everyone knew what came next. "Our Father", the clergyman starts — and there his troubles begin. Followers of the *Book of Common Prayer*, compiled by Thomas Cranmer, proceed "Which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name", and end, "But deliver us from evil. Amen". Users of modern liturgy, in the *Alternative Service Book* (ASB), ask for the forgiveness of sins and end, "For the kingdom, the power, and the glory are yours, now and for ever. Amen."

Remaining guests, the vast majority, begin boldly "Our Father, who art in heaven", realise their mistake around the time sins are mentioned and come to a faltering halt with "For thine is the kingdom..."

A unique meeting tomorrow will address the controversy surrounding Church of England liturgy. The legal remit of the ASB expires in 2000. If the ASB, criticised by the Prince of Wales for the "banality" of its language, is to be replaced, alternatives will have to be drawn up soon.

What makes tomorrow's meeting unusual is that literary figures such as P.D. James and *Members of Parliament* have been invited to share their views with church liturgists.

Alongside Baroness James will be the novelist Joanna Trollope; her husband Ian Curteis, the playwright; Dr Alastair Niven, literature director of the Arts Council; Dr Harriet Harvey Wood, literature director of the British Council; Lord Sudeley, patron of the Prayer Book Society; the MPs Frank Field, Emma Nicholson, Harry Greenway and Andrew Rowe, and John Gummer, the agriculture minister and a member of the General Synod of the Church of England.

The meeting is being organised under the auspices of Praxis, an influential con-

sultative group founded in 1990 to help to bring different and often opposing traditions around one table. Praxis is sponsored by the church's Liturgical Commission, which prepares forms of worship for approval by the synod or the bishops. Other sponsors are the Alcuin Club, which represents the Anglican Catholic view, and the Grove Worship Group, a body of evangelicals.

The language used is appropriately passionate. The Right Rev Colin Buchanan, an evangelical bishop who anticipates a vast array of approved "resource" books becoming available, insists the Prayer Book will soon "reach its own level, that is, vanishing point". On the other side, Dr Harvey Wood, although not a church member, is determined to see it survive. "It is almost impossible to understand vast acres of literature if you do not know the themes running through the heads of the people who were writing it. Who will understand the title of P.D. James book, *Devices and Desires*, if they do not know the part of the liturgy from which that is quoted?" (It is from the general confession in the Prayer Book's morning prayer.)

Baroness James says that the Prayer Book is in danger of being lost and intends tomorrow to speak out on its importance in English literature. "I feel that it is a great pity that the Prayer Book is losing its place in the Church of England and that we get numerous source books or resource books in its place."

Within the church, the parties are divided roughly into three. At one end are those who believe that the *Book of Common Prayer*, authorised by the Act of Uniformity in 1534, should remain the central guide to Anglican worship. The Prayer Book was the only legally authorised form of worship until 1966, since when the church has been allowed to authorise its own alternatives.

In advocating its view in a paper to the Liturgical Commission, the Prayer Book Society argues that the Prayer Book is among the finest works of English literature. To pray for those "who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness or any



Storms ahead: Dr George Carey, Archbishop of Canterbury, will have to preside over the debate on the liturgy

other adversity" can be done in any time or place. To pray for "the unemployed and the marginalised", phrases sometimes used during prayers, invites one to share a particular socio-political perspective, according to Anthony Kilminster, chairman of the Prayer Book Society.

He criticised the format produced by the Liturgical Commission in the 1980s as "do-it-yourself liturgies", particularly *Patterns for Worship*, published recently in report form but not yet authorised for use by the general synod. Traditionalists can however take comfort from the fact that much other modern liturgy is returning to the style of the Prayer Book (see right).

The centrist position is best represented by the Alcuin Club. Here, the view is that the Prayer Book should be retained but additional forms of

worship should be developed. Many Anglican Catholics agree that the ASB, 1,040 pages long, is too big and would like instead a series, including the Prayer Book, but which could be bought as one or as separate volumes.

Bishop Buchanan, a member of the Praxis council, represents the third position — the evangelical view. "The argument for uniformity of worship is a myth," he says. "You would need a microscope to find one ordinance in the theological colleges who intends to use Prayer Book services after the year 2000."

"The Liturgical Commission is working on the right lines in producing resources which are like building blocks, to make up the right patterns of worship for local congregations. There will be much more variety in local worship than there is now." Canon Michael Perham, precentor of Norwich cathedral and chairman of Praxis, said: "The point of the exercise is to try to bring to an end a lot of misunderstanding where people have appeared to attack one another and to suspect each other's motives. The Prayer Book is still regarded as the doctrinal norm. Anglican worship arises from it. But it clearly is not the norm in the sense that it is not what is used the majority of the time in the majority of churches."

The Rev David Martin, a

vice-president of the Prayer Book Society, disagrees. "The Anglican church has to retain its collective memory," he says. "That memory is anchored in the text. The spirit of a great institution is not maintained by willing it to be maintained, but by some kind of historic point of reference, really by a mode of speech. This is the continuous core of the Anglican church and the English language. The two overlap."

A HOLY TRILOGY

The severest criticism of the *Alternative Service Book* has centred on the funeral service, generally considered inadequate in comparison to *The Burial of the Dead* from the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*. Some clergy are adapting it with the recently approved liturgy for All Souls' Day, the annual commemoration of the Faithful Departed on November 2, from *The Promise of His Glory*.

1662 *Book of Common Prayer*: from *The Burial of the Dead* MAN that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery. He cometh up, and is cut down, like a flower: he fleeth as it were a shadow, and never continueth in one day.

In the midst of life we are in death: of whom may we seek for succour, but of thee, O Lord, who for our sins art justly displeased?

Yet, O Lord most holy, O Lord most mighty, O holy and most merciful Saviour, deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death.

Thou knowest, O Lord, the secrets of our hearts: shut not thy merciful ears to our prayer; but spare us, Lord most holy, O God most mighty, O holy and merciful Saviour, thou most worthy Judge eternal, suffer us not, at our last hour, for any pains of death, to fall from thee.

FORASMUCH as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground; earth to earth; ashes to ashes; dust to dust; in sure and certain hope of the Resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ: who shall change our vile body, that it may be like his glorious body, according to the mighty working, whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself.

From the *Alternative Service Book* 1980

MAN born of a woman has but a short time to live. Like a flower he blossoms, and then withers; like a shadow he flees and never stays.

In the midst of life we are in death: to whom can we turn for help, but to you, Lord, who are justly angered by our sins?

Lord God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal, holy and most merciful Saviour, deliver us from the bitter pains of eternal death. You know the secrets of our hearts: in your mercy hear our prayer, forgive us our sins, and at our last hour let us not fall away from you.

WE HAVE entrusted our brother (insert name) to God's merciful keeping, and we now commit his body to the ground/to be cremated: earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust: in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life through our Lord Jesus Christ, who died, was buried, and rose again for us. To him be glory for ever and ever.

A commemoration from *The Promise of His Glory*

You, Christ, are the King of Glory, the eternal Son of the Father. You overcame the sting of death and opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers. You are seated at God's right hand in glory. We believe that you will come to be our judge. Come then, Lord, and help your people, bought with the price of your own blood, and bring us with your saints to glory everlasting.

Hear us, O merciful Father, as we remember in love (name) whom we have placed in your hands. Acknowledge, we pray, a sheep of your own fold, a lamb of your own flock, a sinner of your own redeeming. Enfold him/her in the arms of your mercy, in the blessed rest of everlasting peace, and in the glorious company of the saints in light. Amen.

A leaflet on rape has angered students who believe it trivialises the crime

To suggest that using charm and romance to ensure sex on a one-night stand constitutes rape is to court controversy. And that is what Maxine-Anne Ross, student women's officer at the University of Central Lancashire in Preston, claims she intended when she included the definition in a leaflet on rape for students.

More than 5,000 copies of the leaflet have been distributed by Ms Ross since the start of term as part of the *No Means No* campaign organised by student officers throughout 80 colleges and universities in Britain.

The campaign aims to demonstrate that the legal definition of rape is too tightly defined and offers definitions of rape to male students in an attempt to make students aware that most women are raped by men they know and not by an unknown assailant in a dark alley.

Many students have been upset and angered by the leaflet, which they believe trivialises the crime and patronises women. Men and women have cast some of the leaflet's serious information aside because of what they describe as misguided hysterics.

Under the heading *Information for Men*, the leaflet states: "If you use charm and romance to ensure sex upon one-night stands then that is rape; if you threaten to leave the relationship if you cannot have sex then that is a form of rape; if you come home drunk and force yourself upon your sleeping girlfriend then that is rape; and if you use any intimidation of any kind with your current partner, a potential partner, or an old partner then that is rape."

The university's student newspaper, *Plus*, describes the leaflet as "feminist claptrap". "A lot of students have found it offensive and described Ms Ross's ideas as extreme," says Ian Shanahan, one of the newspaper's reporters who canvassed student opinion. "The real problem with her leaflet is that the very serious issues of rape and the importance of rape prevention campaigns are being disregarded by readers who look no further than the surface content of the leaflets."

No Means No was set up by the student group Cambridge Women's Forum in 1990 and annually invites all NUS women officers to join the campaign. Alice Sharp, NUS women's officer, said:

Romantic fact or fiction?



"No Means No is an autonomous group separate from the NUS and while we support their work to promote an awareness of rape, we don't agree with all of Ms Ross's definitions of rape."

Philippa Hyman, a psychology student at Sussex University, agrees: "If someone reads that leaflet, then they are going to react to the part on romance and charm because it stands out. Campus rape and women's safety are issues of gravity, but this just makes two a joke. It's a very good idea that *No Means No* aims to show that the legal definition of rape is too tight, but this type of thing scares people."

"A lot of men would not think that some situations are rape, especially if the woman has already kissed the man or gone into a bedroom with him."

"The point that really ought to be made is that any situation is rape when you say no — rape happens when sex is not mutually desired. It's totally irrelevant what the relationship is, it's the nature of

what you are doing, and that's also why male rape must be recognised in the eyes of the law. It's a bad idea to alienate men — and this will also alienate women."

Confusion and alienation among men will result from the type of information in the leaflet, according to Peter Wilson, a postgraduate student at York University. He believes that it would be rare to find a man or woman who has not behaved in a charming or romantic manner to endear a member of the opposite sex to them. "The implication that charm and romance belong to the category of coercion and force ranks highly in the half-truth stakes alongside the infamous, 'all men are potential rapists', these phrases are based on irrefutable and righteous premises, but are guaranteed to patronise and confuse the very people who should be listening — men."

Ms Ross says she pondered over using the paragraph on charm and romance, but does not regret its inclusion because, she insists, it has opened up the debate on rape.

"I've had verbal abuse about this leaflet from men and women, but at least people are talking about it. I stand by the paragraph on romance and charm. The point I'm trying to make in it is that men and women play games with each other, and this is dangerous, it leads to people not understanding another person's intentions."

"I want to stop women saying 'It won't happen to me' and ignoring rape. Sixty per cent of rapes are committed by someone the survivor knows and 35 per cent are by acquaintances. For many women the issue of consent is irrelevant because they don't get any choice in the matter."

Anna Souhami, a classics student at Oxford University, agrees with the principle behind Ms Ross's leaflet: "I see the point that's being made. A man should not assume that taking a woman out to dinner means he is going to get sex. A man must be aware that a woman is not always willing to have sex as he may want her to be."

"I think the leaflet is pointing out that there are more subtle ways of forcing a woman to have sex than dragging her down an alley at knifepoint."

KATE ALDERSON

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In his handling of tonight's Maastricht vote the prime minister has ignored every Confucian maxim of war

Major: the monarch of muddle

SIMON JENKINS

Is it all a hallucination? A young Tory minister waking this morning could be forgiven for wondering if he is in a bad dream. By tonight he could be facing unemployment, just six months after putting on his new double-breasted, fingered the lock on his red box and wondering whether to sit in the front or back of the Rover. Can it be true, or did his teenage daughter slip a substance into his late-night cocoa?

An old maxim states that he who can see his way through the next 24 hours wins. Gamble on a week or a month, but never gamble on a day. Tonight John Major has demanded a vote of support from Tory MPs on the floor of the House of Commons. He may lose it. If he loses, he could in theory cling to power. This paving motion is a very British sort of referendum in which Tory MPs hold proxies for the nation. Lose and Mr Major could conceivably claim that Parliament has spoken. Maastricht is dead, but too bad. He never believed in it really, any more than he believed in poll tax or the exchange-rate mechanism. He could even claim that only a few Tories voted against him. The majority of his party are with him, and all would support the

subsequent confidence vote. He could have claimed all this two weeks ago and set our junior minister's mind at rest. Instead we have a bad case of the shakes.

The reason is that Mr Major is doing something which I suspect is unprecedented in modern politics. He is defying the whips and exposing to possible catastrophe in an internal party argument. If a sufficient minority is prepared to defy the whips, then the whips should back off. The game is one of high-level bluff, but bluff played to certain rules. Once a bargain is struck, rebellion is kept to the old Angus Maude formula of "the overall majority minus one".

Mr Major has disregarded every Confucian maxim of war. Not only has he given his enemies no bridge over which to retreat, in his vanity and his rage he has chopped down bridges in his own rear. What seemed at the crucial cabinet on October 15 a risky but tenable battle plan has not worked out. By

threatening elections and resignations and damning the rebels to eternal loss of favour Mr Major has shown that neither victory nor defeat will see prisoners taken.

If he loses tonight, two years of torment ending in last month's desperate promise of a new start could be wasted. John Major will dissolve on the branch, a Cheshire cat leaving behind just a pair of funny glasses.

And if he wins? This is no April election tangle in which victory obviated all post-mortem. What has given the rebels their staying power is the issue of their rebellion, Europe. When rebels tell worried constituents that Maastricht is a matter of principle, the latter tend to agree. They are baffled as to why the prime minister is holding his party to the fire like this, when a dozen escape stratagems were available.

Mr Major claims his stance on Maastricht is of a piece. He signed a treaty. He promised to ratify it. Despite his ingenious (now ironic)

hints that he must consult Parliament, his European partners assumed he could deliver as least as promptly as they. He presides over their council. He must be seen to believe in his presidency. This means not just leaving the ratification bill to tick over in committee. He must seek a full motion of confidence in Europe before the Edinburgh summit next month. Britain's prestige is at stake. It is a case of death or dishonour.

It is the palpable absurdity of this stance — rooted in what appear no more than diplomatic niceties — that is causing Mr Major's party to question his judgement, win or lose tonight. How did the down-to-earth tactician, trained in the Downing Street School of Ultimate Pragmatism, come to this pass? One reason I believe is sheer exhaustion. Forget all the talk

about Mr Major's health and stability. He can summon up the adrenalin now and then. But his patent tiredness in meetings and social engagements must affect his judgment. A tired prime minister is a product of rotten staffwork. It shows in vulnerability to constant and idiotic Foreign Office demands on his diary which a weak team fail to resist. They have fallen victim to H.A.L. Fisher's definition of history as a "sequence of emergencies", at the mercy of events, encircled, unable to seize initiatives, reactive not proactive.

But there is more to Mr Major's bizarre gamble than this. He is proving yet another "outsider" Tory leader. He is a take-it-or-leave-it player of the game. His ambition is undoubted, but the improbability of his rise has left him careless of the mechanics of keeping power. There is no trace of noblesse oblige, no sense of keeping the show on the road for the sake of country or party. When he mutters to colleagues that "there is life after

politics, you know," he makes them shudder. Leaders are not meant to think such unthinkable in a crisis.

Small wonder the pressure has driven him back, as it drove Lady Thatcher, to the comforting abstractions of foreign affairs, to relying on phrases such as prestige, European leadership, marginalisation and British interests (always undefined). There is still glamour abroad. There is show. A prime minister overseas is his country personified. He is not the embattled leader of a faction. The language of the Foreign Office brief slides easily down the gullet. The raw meat of home politics is tough and must be chewed into the night.

Yet of all the redoubts in which to make a last stand, Maastricht must be the oddest. Not just in the country but in the corridors of government, Europe has become a cesspool, tedious, mind-numbing battle over alien terrain. It has devastated one prime minister after another ever since Macmillan.

Most ministers see the new treaty as a smokescreen for European inaction on policies to promote freer trade. Most know that Martin Bangemann was right yesterday when he said that the Maastricht Treaty was indeed a step towards federalism. They see in its waffling clauses yet more late nights of argument, yet more maddening inference. They would love to call the French and German bluff on farming, Gatt, regional aid, the budget, but how when they are locked into arguing over this wretched treaty?

The cabinet and most Tories had accepted Mr Major's implied promise that Maastricht was the last hurdle that Britain would have to jump, that to refuse it point blank would do more harm than good to Britain's interests. They had accepted ratification as the "least worst" way forward. They thought they could hold the line for John Major on the basis of hastening slowly down the gauntlet in the most daring terms and challenged the sceptics to do their worst. John Major is scaring his cabinet out of their wits. The Monarch of Muddle Through is testing his kingdom to destruction. He had better win.

The loneliness of the American right

The United States may be culturally conservative but, as support for Clinton shows, its political tradition remains liberal, writes Alan Ryan

You might think that American conservatives would be cheerful. Regardless of the outcome of the presidential election, they have pushed the centre of gravity of American politics well to the right. Remember the way Bill Clinton refused to stop the execution of Ricky Ray Rector, a brain-damaged black murderer on Arkansas' death row, who was duly put to death last January during the primary campaign. Some saw it as a sign of the desperation of Mr Clinton's campaign for the Democratic nomination for the presidency. Others thought it was a necessary step in shifting the Democratic party back towards the centre of gravity of American politics. Foreigners saw it as a bizarre commentary on a society that allows the citizenry to arm itself to the teeth and becomes hysterical about the predictable consequences.

Whatever else it showed, it showed how conservative the American public is over crime and punishment. "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," strikes most Americans as a good rule of thumb: the deterrent effect of the death penalty is neither here nor there. Most people believe the Bible is unequivocally in favour of the death penalty, and the argument stops. Walter Mondale is said to have groaned at the thought of a Democratic presidential candidate who really believed in the death penalty, but Walter Mondale was on the wrong side of the landslide Reagan re-election of 1984.

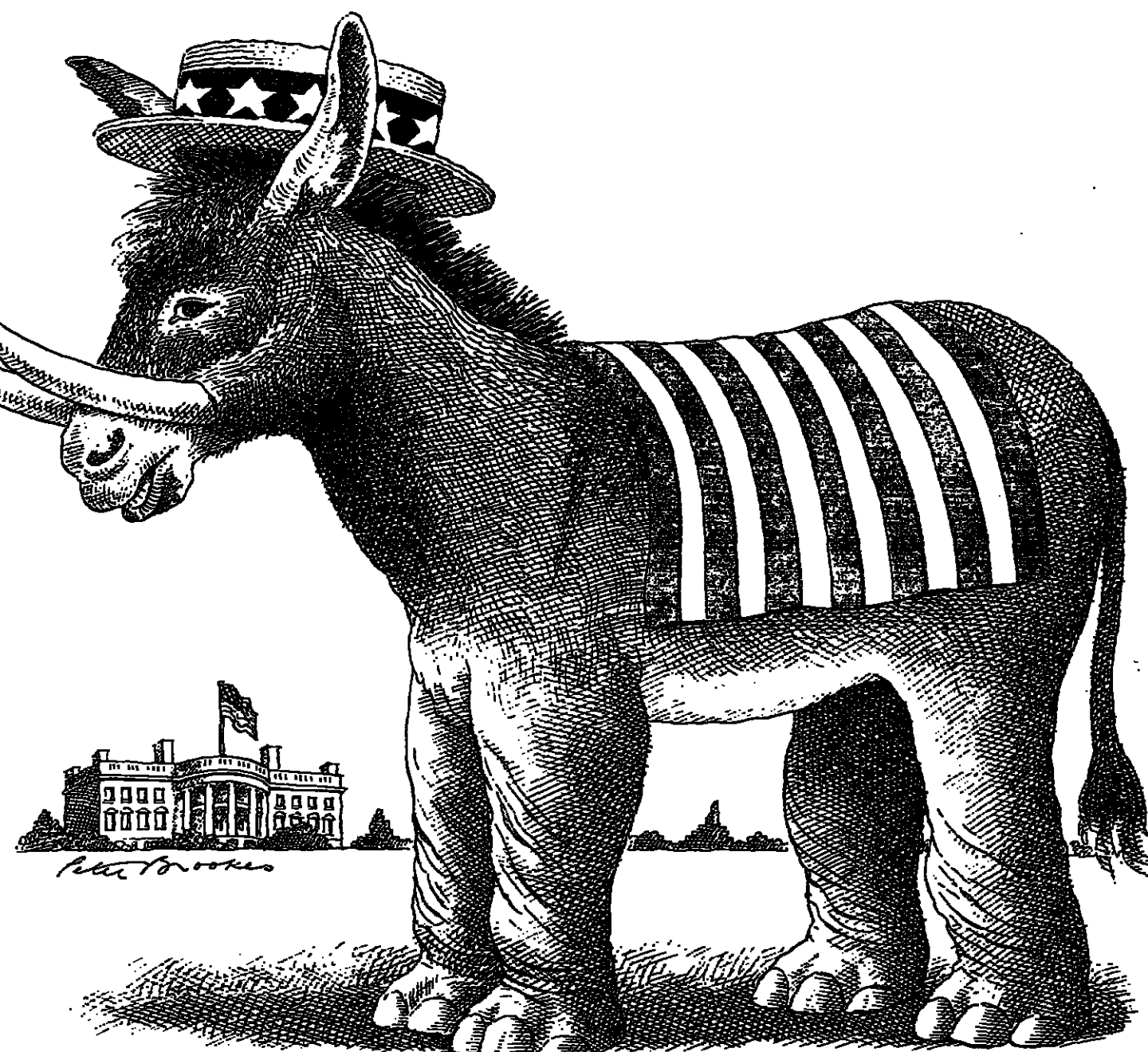
If Americans are culturally conservative, why are conservatives so unhappy with the way things are going? Much of the explanation rests on the fact that the conservative alliance that carried Ronald Reagan into the White House was even more fragile than the liberal coalition it thrashed in three elections in the 1980s, and the rest on Mr Bush's total lack of interest in ideas. It is not only liberals who complain that Mr Bush lacked vision: Edwin Feulner, the head of the Heritage Foundation, commented bitterly on the "visionless White House pretending to be conservative". But the electorate is the greater problem. The success of

Ronald Reagan and George Bush obscured the fact that the American electorate, like its British counterpart, "votes its pocketbook". Governments make less difference than they pretend, but in prosperous times they get re-elected, and in hard times they do not. But American politics allows one crucial difference from Britain. Because Americans vote directly for their president, they can vote for a president of one party and a Congress of another — they can and do vote their wallets at one level and their passions at another.

Byron Shafer, professor of American government at Oxford, offers the plausible thought that Americans like God-fearing, nationalist, socially conservative figureheads in the White House, but think secular, free-spending Democrats are better for everyday prosperity. The electorate has its heart on the right and its wallet on the left. They will vote a conservative into the White House, so long as it costs them nothing, and so long as the Democrats run Congress.

This makes life difficult for liberals and conservatives in exactly opposite ways. Liberals have trouble with the fact that their natural economic constituency is blue-collar workers who dislike abortion on demand, flag burning, sex education, the Supreme Court's decision that school prayer violates the constitution, and a lot else. Still, liberals who want the government to intervene in the economy but not in the bedroom find it easy to cooperate with one another. Conservatives, however, are less a mixed bag than a squabbling one. They include, as one of their number ruefully observed, both hard-line anti-communists, free marketeers, Jewish ex-liberals, and evangelical ex-Democrats whose economic interests pull them one way and their religious convictions the other.

Many of those who embraced Mr Reagan as the means of inflicting supply-side economics on the United States were not conservative but ultra-liberal: on drug control, for instance, they advocated the legalisation of most, and



sometimes of all, mind-altering substances. After all, the brains the addict fries are his own, and if that is what the addict chooses to do with his brains, they said, that is his business. It is cheaper to let addicts rot according to their own devices than to waste several billion dollars a year on law enforcement and billions more on keeping addicts and dealers in jail.

But this is just the outlook that the other half of the conservative coalition cannot stand. For the other half of the American right is looking to restore a godly republic. The American republic is, as the oath of allegiance says, "one nation

under God", and they want to stress under God. When Pat Buchanan, Pat Robertson, and Phyllis Schlafly got up on the platform of the Republican convention back in August, they were fighting for a cultural conservatism that many supply-siders would shun like the plague.

As for their economics, Pat Buchanan might drive a Mercedes — as his opponents enjoyed reminding the voters — but his economics are crudely protectionist and nationalist, and play to the gut instincts of the blue-collar reactionaries whose views he shares and whose votes he courted. Phyllis

Schafly's economic views are not much discussed, what she fears is not economic competition but moral rot. She was vehemently opposed to civil rights legislation that prevented employers from discriminating against homosexuals, but not for any economic consequences it might have. God will doubtless take care of a godly people and visit the ungodly with appropriate evils, but that is God's business. Ours is to live according to His commandments.

There is no intellectual or political problem about defending the combination of a strong state, cultural conservatism, and eco-

nomie *laissez-faire*. It is arguable that only people with strong moral convictions will have the energy, the self-reliance, and the stamina to run an economy that does not "baby" them, and that only a strong state will be able to enforce law and order at home and free-market relations abroad. Mrs Thatcher flourished on just that claim. What the mixture cannot take, however, is too strong an injection of religious faith. Mr Bush momentarily tried to appeal to the right by claiming that the Democrats had left God off the party platform, and the electorate promptly shut him up.

Everyone on the right feels let down by Mr Bush's presidency. Enthusiasts for small government note that tax bills have risen, the deficit has grown, and Mr Bush has behaved like every other politician on the stump — having opposed the Osprey tilt rotor plane for years, he boasted to crowds in Delaware that he had brought them safe employment for the next several years. Enthusiasts for godliness note that he vetoed pro-choice legislation but failed to get the Supreme Court to reverse *Roe vs Wade*, or bring back school prayer. Nationalists observe that before he thrashed Saddam Hussein's army, he provided the money to equip it. And so rather lengthily on. Outside the north-east and California, this is a culturally conservative country. But for the American right, it is not the promised land.

The author is professor of politics at Princeton University.

Making the most of Bill

AS STUDENTS at his former college celebrated the expected victory of Bill Clinton last night, the Oxford University machine was already at work, deciding how best to market its latest asset.

University College, will almost certainly make him an honorary fellow, as indeed might Pembroke, where he was taught for his two first and formative terms. Meanwhile the university itself is believed to be considering an honorary degree. Former American recipients include Bob McNamara, secretary of defense to president Kennedy, and the economist J.K. Galbraith.

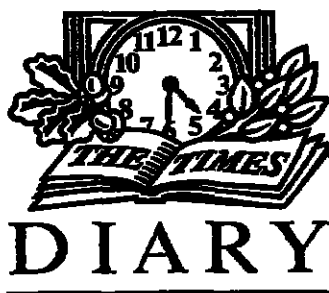
"The university will be desperate to get cash from the states as soon as possible and to do that it needs Clinton in a gown, soon," says one Oxford fellow. "A Clinton presidency will be extremely beneficial for the university and raise its profile in the States," agrees Oxford Union treasurer Toby Lewis. The last president to speak at the Oxford Union was Jimmy Carter, but the union is hopeful that Clinton will find time for an evening debate in Oxford. Christopher Hall, president of the union, is sending an invitation to the White House next week. "He was very positive when we invited him before," Hall says. "He wasn't able

to come then but I'm sure if he's in the country he will make the effort."

Exactly how soon he visits Britain will depend on relations between Clinton and the British government, but Oxford will again play a part. It is already rumoured that Clinton's university contemporaries, the Tory MPs Edwin Currie, William Waldegrave, Ann Widdicombe and Gyles Brandreth, will be asked to revive the special relationship.

There are those within the university, however, who feel Clinton may have more to think about than the £340 million Oxford fund. Norman Stone, the outspoken professor of modern history, says: "I would have thought he would want to spend time thinking about his own three trillion dollar debt."

Not all of Bill Clinton's former associates at Oxford will be impressed by a victory in the US elections. Douglas Millin, University College's legendary porter, was decidedly underwhelmed by Clinton's last political triumph. According to the University College Record, Millin met Clinton on his return to Oxford after his election as the youngest ever governor of Arkansas. "I hear you have been elected King of some places with two men and a dog," said Millin.



Boothroyd's big day

WITH today's vote on Maastricht too close to call, the future of John Major may lie in the hands of Betty Boothroyd, the first woman Speaker. In the event of a tied vote, Boothroyd, elected Labour MP for West Bromwich West, will have the casting vote.

She would no doubt refer to the bible of Commons procedure *Erskine May* but the advice seems clear. Boothroyd would almost certainly be obliged to vote with the Government, in favour of the motion, to preserve the status quo, on the grounds that there was no majority in the House to defeat the administration.

Viscount Tonyyandy, as Speaker George Thomas, regularly faced a similar dilemma during the last Labour government. He voted with the government on several occasions when he had the casting vote and had many anxious moments

during the confidence motion against Jim Callaghan's government in 1979, which the Tories won by one vote, forcing a general election. "I was relieved that I did not have to decide," he says.

If Labour had gained one more vote, Tonyyandy's casting vote would have deprived the nation of Mrs Thatcher.

Mini Maastricht

DAVID Martin, MEP for Lothians, expects to be £140,000 richer before too long. Martin is claiming the reward offered by Jacques Delors at the Birmingham summit last month for anyone who could produce a straightforward definition of subsidiarity on one page. Today a brown envelope landed on the EC president's desk containing *Maastricht in a Minute* — a summary of the treaty, prepared by Martin.

"I don't think that it quite fits Delors's bill but it should at least show him how things can be explained in clear and simple terms," says Martin, who has sent a copy to John Major.

Martin, however, may find himself waiting for the reward. His 16-page booklet has some way to go before it becomes the equivalent of the Ladybird guide to Maastricht. Delors is unlikely to take kindly to such glibbedook as "sustainable and non-inflationary growth respecting the environment".



Baroness Thatcher (left) is doing her bit for the depressed British housing market. She spent 45 minutes last week looking round No 32 Grosvenor Gardens, former home of Lord Birkenhead (right), which is on the market for £1.75 million, a trifle for a woman estimated to have earned £9 million since leaving Downing Street.



The Bulgarians, as devotees of Janet Reger underwear can testify, know a thing or two about marketing. Recently a magazine advertisement for mail order lingerie accidentally printed the private telephone number of the Bulgarian ambassador, Ivan "Johnny" Stancioff. After initial bafflement, the ambassador has turned the confusion to his country's advantage. He has been telling callers to visit Bulgaria and buy its wine. Stancioff, whose home is in Aber-

deenshire, said: "I came back from holiday and kept getting these calls on my private phone; people mumbled something about lingerie." The magazine has apologized and made good its mistake. Stancioff's secretary at the embassy is now the owner of a Janet Reger nightdress and negligee.

Spudnik

IT IS not only John Major's diet which is causing concern among

his aides. President Yeltsin's passion for potatoes is posing a problem for officials organising the Russian president's two-day visit to London next week when he is expected to address Parliament for the first time.

Yeltsin, who admits that he is no gourmet, is a potato fanatic. He has been planning them for thirty years and this autumn he dug up enough to fill six sacks. He has informed the organisers of the trip that he is quite prepared to eat only once a day, as long as his potato. His favourite meal, they have been told, is potatoes in their jackets with herrings.

Those concerned with the diets of the two statesmen have hit upon a novel dish when Yeltsin lunches with Major on Monday — large helpings of Norma Major's shepherd's pie.

The chips are down



GED

مجلس النواب



EMPTY THREATS

The arguments against Euro-rebels are specious

Those Conservative MPs who dare to vote against the government tonight will be accused of crimes ranging from disloyalty to bloodthirstiness, from subverting Britain's position in Europe to bankrupting the country and prolonging the recession. The accusations are at best questionable, at worst plain wrong.

Would a "no" vote tonight derail the Maastricht process, as has been claimed? Not at all. If Labour's amendment wins the day, it would merely delay the ratification process in Britain until after the Edinburgh summit. That is a perfectly respectable desire, since the treaty may have to be amended then to satisfy the Danes. Parliament can reasonably delay considering any treaty until its final shape is clear.

Nor is Britain being particularly dilatory. Germany still has not ratified the treaty, and the notion that all 11 states must have ratified before Denmark's next referendum, so as to put maximum pressure on Danish voters, smacks of bullying.

Would a "no" vote weaken Britain's position at the Edinburgh summit? Quite the reverse. Britain's European partners have been too reluctant to admit the strength of opposition to Maastricht here. If John Major wants to argue for a more binding commitment to subsidiarity, his position will be strengthened by his domestic difficulties. The other Europeans will begin to realise that they have to make deeper concessions.

Superficially, the strongest argument against a "no" vote is that a Britain seen to be marginalised in Europe might attract less inward investment. Foreign companies might prefer to locate in countries fully committed to European union because they fear that sometime in the future these nations might erect trading barriers against those on the periphery. This would make a nonsense of the European Community and would be illegal under the single market.

Britain will still, however, retain all the attractions that have brought it a disproportionate share of inward investment into the EC so far. English is the first language of Americans and the second language of most of the rest of the world. Britain has sizeable

expatriate communities and is popular with foreigners. Its labour costs are low, and its regulation of business light, an advantage that will become all the greater now that Britain alone has avoided the expense and constraints of the social chapter.

Foreign investors are also concerned about political stability. That may be a quality Britain seems to lack in today's turbulent times. Yet there is no gainsaying that British political institutions are stable. Britain has seen no sign of the xenophobic nationalism that so poisons the politics of many other European countries. Those nationalist parties are likely to win even more support once Maastricht's ideal of European federalism begins to take shape and cherished national traditions are threatened by regulation from Brussels.

Even if some foreign investors were to be deterred by Britain's supposed lack of commitment to the European ideal, how far would the government be prepared to go in pursuit of their dollars or yen? Suppose Britain signed up to Maastricht but then seemed handicapped by not rejoining the exchange-rate mechanism? Suppose sterling returned to the ERM and it was then claimed that Britain was suffering by not signing up to a common currency? Politicians would be faced with exactly the same pressures at each stage.

Rebels will finally be accused of irreparably damaging the government and the premiership of John Major. A "no" vote would indeed be a blow to both. But MPs should balance this against the damage to them that would be done by accepting a treaty on which the British people have serious reservations and have never been consulted. A defeat for the government tonight would greatly increase the likelihood of a referendum on Maastricht.

There is no question now of a general election being called or a vote of confidence lost. As for Mr Major's position, he is perfectly capable of continuing in the job, albeit chastened by defeat in a battle he should never have sought. In the end, a prime minister who does what is right will be stronger than one who does what is wrong.

IRISH SHENANIGANS

Dublin faces a general election it neither wants nor needs

Europe's economies slither towards slump. Public faith in the elected leaders of the rich Western democracies declines. The handful of statesmen not wholly distracted by domestic political crises wrestle with designs for a Europe of the 21st century. And what of the Republic of Ireland? The Irish political class is now girding its loins for a wholly unwanted and unnecessary general election because one minister has called another a liar.

The partners in Ireland's wobbling coalition stepped back from the brink yesterday, but there is precious little sign that the prime minister and his coalition partner are in any mood to back down. In doing so, Albert Reynolds and Desmond O'Malley are committing exactly the mistake which is deepening public disillusion with politicians from Limerick to Lvov.

In the course of an enquiry into allegations of improper links between a big Irish food exporter and Mr Reynolds' Fianna Fail party, the two ministers squabbled in an attempt to acquire a little extra leverage in the endless battle for advantage. By cheerfully indulging in this shortsighted quarrel, the two men confirmed their indifference towards the urgent questions facing their country and continent.

An election would be an avoidable waste of time, money and stability. After the revolving-door governments of the early 1980s, the Irish political system settled down and appeared to deliver a healthier economy by the end of the decade. But in 1992 the Irish punt is grossly overvalued and unemployment is the highest in the EC. The currency only survived the hurricane in

the financial markets with the help of re-imposed capital controls.

The polls do not suggest that the government has lost ground with voters and the economy needs certainty, not a month of volatile politicking. If Mr Reynolds can hold his two-party cabinet together, he need not go to the polls before 1994.

Most soundings suggest that an election will change little. Mr Reynolds may be chafing at the self-restraint required to manage a coalition. Voters appear to think that he should try harder to learn the art, since he will probably be re-elected to form another coalition.

None of the urgent items on Ireland's domestic or European agenda will be solved by an election which would be dominated by what America has come to know as "character issues" and the highly-charged question of abortion law. An election campaign will not assist the discovery of the truth about the disputed beef exports. The enquiry which brought Mr Reynolds and Mr O'Malley to blows was already at work and the ministers should stop clouding the issues and let it complete its task. Abortion law is due to be debated by referendum: the level of argument will not be raised by entanglement with an election.

Decisions on Ireland's economy are being shaped outside its borders. Its government's voice is needed to help achieve a deal in the world trade talks and to talk sense in the debate on how to revive Europe's faltering economies. When politicians have challenges to rise to, they should put away thoughts of disappearing down an election burrow.

NO LEAF FROM THEIR BOOK

Foreign trains skid on the rails in autumn too

The Swedish Scrubber works with less than Scandinavian efficiency. The Austrian snake-grinder is not much better. Thick, sticky paste, smeared on by the mile, proved an inadequate solution. Flailing deflector skirts caused a swirl but little else. The best hope lies in millions and millions of tiny steel balls: engineering's answer to the insidious and growing threat to high-speed rail travel, the sodden wet leaf.

In the good old days of steam, nature's autumnal fall never slowed the measured pace of the clanking iron horse. The weight of the mighty driving wheels crushed any organic matter on the line, while the old-fashioned clasp brakes quickly burned off encrusted leaves clogging the wheels. But as trains grew lighter, electric driving wheels smaller, and disc brakes replaced the cast-iron kind, a creeping slippage followed.

Trees beside the lines, allowed to luxuriate in the tranquillity of economic cutbacks, grew taller and bolder, shedding their annual harvest more profusely. Network SouthEast discovered to its growing embarrassment that honesty was no longer the best policy: telling commuters on the 18.48 Guildford via Cobham that expensive new rolling stock could not cope with leaves, let alone snow, led to an explosion of national ridicule.

British Rail has put its best boffins on to the problem, as well as employing an army of foresters to cut down 50,000 trees over the past year. Scientists produced a whole treatise on the transformation under high pressure of leaf debris into a hard black substance, 50 per cent organic matter and 50 per cent ferrous oxides, which hampers track circuitry and interferes with signalling. But the 18.48 is still running late. What will happen when the new Transmanche supertrains emerge next autumn from beneath the English Channel?

Luckily news has now leaked out that Britain is not alone in the fight to keep its railways clear. France and Germany also worry about the rustle of autumn. Deutsche Bundesbahn and SNCF now seem a little less snugly efficient as their trains also slip through stations, spin their wheels and burn out their motors. Even Switzerland, where every tree is individually tended in a manicured landscape, cannot control its pine needles.

Will privatisation be the cure? Experience suggests that leaves have an arboreal tendency to fall on both branch and trunk lines, regardless of ownership. Let the scrubbers get to work: let the steel-balls roll. The only answer, as every train buff will insist, is: bring back steam.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN Telephone 071-782 5000

Last minute advice to doubters over tonight's vote on the Maastricht treaty

From Mr Nigel Waterson, MP for Eastbourne, and other Conservative MPs

Sir, We were all first elected to the House of Commons in April, and were signatories to the early day motion (report, June 5) calling for a "fresh start" in the EC following the result of the Danish referendum.

We are all now intending to support the government on Wednesday's paving motion. We shall be doing so not because we no longer have reservations about certain terms of the Maastricht treaty. We do have such reservations, and will continue to press our views on ministers.

However, the treaty as it stands makes an encouraging start to redressing the drift to federalism in the Community. Under the British presidency we are beginning to put flesh on the bones of subsidiarity. Following the results of the referendums in France and Denmark, and British withdrawal from the ERM, we believe events in Europe are moving to meet our own views.

Now is not the time to put all this at risk, or to undermine the outstanding leadership of John Major.

Yours faithfully,
NIGEL WATERSON,
ANGELA BROWNING (Tewkesbury),
GEOFFREY CLIFTON-BROWN
(Cheneston and Tewkesbury),
ALAN DUNCAN (Rutland and Melton),
NIGEL EVANS (Ribble Valley),
DAVID FABER (Westbury),
LIAM FOX (Woodspire),
PHIL GALLIE (Ayr),
NICK HAWKINS (Blackpool South),
CHARLES HENDRY (High Peak),
DAVID LIDINGTON (Aylesbury),
ANDREW ROBERTSON (Babaly),
JOHN SYKES (Southborough),
ROY THOMSON (Bromsgrove),
DAVID WILLETTTS (Havant),
House of Commons,
November 2.

From Sir Basil Feldman and Mr John Mason

Sir, Just over six months ago the voluntary workers of the Conservative party campaigned extremely hard for a Conservative victory at the general election. Under John Major's leadership, we achieved it.

We were all fighting on the basis of a manifesto which set out a clear commitment to the Maastricht treaty. We were happy to stand by the manifesto then and we should be happy to stand by it now.

It is our job — as it should be for all Conservatives — to rally round the prime minister in his efforts to protect Britain's interests in Europe.

People like ourselves who have worked on a voluntary basis for the party for many years will therefore find it difficult to understand how a small number of Conservative members of Parliament could possibly contemplate siding with the Labour party. That is not why their constituencies sent them to Parliament.

We hope that any who are considering such a course will think again and know that this hope is shared by all 12 area chairmen of the National Union of Conservative Associations.

Yours faithfully,
BASIL FELDMAN
(Chairman, Conservative National Union Executive Committee),
JOHN MASON
(Chairman, National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations),
c/o Mason, Baggott and Carton,
17 Wells Street,
Southport, South Humberside,
November 3.

From Professor Kenneth Minogue and others

Sir, We believe all who are unhappy about ratification of the Maastricht treaty would agree with Sir Michael Angus et al (letter, November 2) that "the most important aspect of the Community's development is the single market". Unfortunately, the treaty goes far beyond that objective and in

so doing detracts from it. Maastricht is all about the building of a European superstate and despite the modifications secured by Mr Major would still commit Britain to membership of the exchange-rate mechanism, at least up to the final stage of a single currency run by a European central bank, associated with massive redistribution of income in the name of cohesion and the co-ordination of budgetary policy as part of convergence criteria. We would also be committed to common citizenship and ultimately to a common foreign and defence policy.

This vast extension of regulation and control would be achieved by giving the European Commission and Parliament a huge increase in powers deliberately designed to weaken the authority of the Council of Ministers by 11 increases in qualified majority voting. Subsidiarity on which the signatories of that letter place great hope would not, according to legal experts, protect member states from this centralising thrust without major renegotiation.

Sir Michael and his co-signatories plainly share some of these doubts, yet express concern that failure to ratify would reduce foreign investment in Britain. A more real danger to their companies is that Maastricht would lock us into a European state that is inward-looking and discriminates against the rest of the world, as the common agricultural policy has done to great cost, thereby inviting retaliation.

Their fear of refusal to ratify is misplaced. If Maastricht is set aside, there is no question of Britain or Denmark being isolated by being thrown out of the single market, which would breach the Rome treaty. Nor would our partners risk obstructing our trade with the Community, thereby disrupting their own industry, which relies heavily on supplying British markets.

Now we know that early British doubts on centralised coercion are widely shared, even in France and Germany, our best service to rebuilding prosperity and harmony in a wider Europe would be to pause on Maastricht and give wiser counsels time to prevail.

Yours faithfully,
KENNETH MINOGUE (LSE),
RALPH HARRIS,
BRIAN HINDLEY (LSE),
MARTIN HOLMES (Oxford),
KEITH JOSEPH,
B. C. ROBERTS (LSE),
SWAYTHLING,
VINSON.

c/o London School of Economics,
Houghton Street, Aldwych, WC2,
November 3.

From Mr Anthony Cowgill

Sir, Sir Michael Angus and many of his co-signatories also signed a letter to you on December 13, 1991, again just before a major parliamentary debate on the treaty, in which they said:

"We believe that the agreement on economic and monetary union reached at Maastricht is crucial to the economic well-being of the nation and it must now be firmly endorsed."

They now say that in the light of continuing uncertainties about how the ERM will develop and of our open clause on economic and monetary union, we see that issue (re-entry to the ERM) as separable from the question of treaty ratification.

Since the prime aim of the Maastricht treaty is to establish an economic and monetary union, and membership of the ERM is an essential prerequisite, this seems somewhat disingenuous.

The fundamental point is that strict compliance with our agreements at Maastricht will require the UK's re-entry into the ERM and our adherence to the convergence process. Our commitment to this, which the government further underlined at the Birmingham summit, implies a continuing harsh programme of deflation.

To many industrialists trying to survive during this unnecessarily deepened recession the Birmingham

summit and the Maastricht treaty seem unrelated to reality.

Yours sincerely,
ARTHUR COWGILL
(Director, British Management Data Foundation,
Highfield, Longridge,
Sheepscote, Stroud,
Gloucestershire,
November 3.

From Professor S. F. Bush

Sir, I wonder how many of the 27 luminaries of the CBI who write today advocating ratification of the Treaty on European Union have actually read it. One would hope that they have brought to bear on the treaty the same exacting scrutiny which they bring to bear on their companies' commercial agreements.

Your correspondents say that while "easy re-entry to the ERM is not likely to be feasible... we should not close off the option to re-enter". Do they not realise that the central purpose of the treaty (Article G, Title VI) is monetary union, that membership of the ERM is the first stage and that the second stage to which the treaty legally commits this country begins on January 1, 1994, less than 14 months away. Despite Britain's theoretical option to defer a decision on full monetary union in Stage 3, under Stage 2 we will be bound to adopt convergent monetary (largely deflationary) policies which run flat counter to the new policy of economic growth.

Again, contrary to their letter, the Maastricht treaty articles do not add appreciably to the framework of the single market: these are provided for in the Single European Act (1986). Where the treaty does have an additional effect on the market is in its provision (Articles 130a-d) for the setting up (before December 31, 1993) of a new cohesion fund whose central purpose is to transfer large sums of money (so-called structural funds) from the rich north to the poor south of the Community.

In other words, countries like Britain will pay subsidies to other countries like Portugal and Greece in order that they will be able to compete better with us. On current EC plans these transfers double Britain's present EC contribution of almost £3 billion.

Is this what the CBI wants?

Yours faithfully,
STEPHEN BUSH,
Genval, Millstone Close,
Poynton, Cheshire,
November 2.

From Mr Robert D. A. Pick

Sir, My experience over the years in representing Asian, and particularly Japanese, companies investing in the UK confirms that Sir Michael Angus and his CBI colleagues are correct in fearing for lost inward investment if the Maastricht treaty is not ratified. Perhaps surprisingly the decision by foreigners to invest in the UK often depends more on the perception that the UK is an integral part of Europe than on any detailed scrutiny of a particular piece of Euro-legislation.

Speaking to businessmen in Taiwan last week has more than ever convinced me of the negative signals which will be sent to potential overseas investors if the Euro-sceptics prevail in Wednesday's debate.

Yours faithfully,
R. D. A. PICK,
Baker & McKenzie (solicitors),
100 New Bridge Street, EC4,
November 2.

From Mr Lionel Bloch

Sir, What makes Sir Michael Angus and his distinguished co-signatories so sure that in open competition in a single European market, our exports will fare better than they do now? On present form, it is much more likely that European exports will swamp the UK.

Assuming, however, that we could become more competitive, what evidence is there that by ratifying the Maastricht treaty, we would be able to

win a larger share of a more rapidly growing market, or increase our ability to attract inward investments?

Yours faithfully,
LIONEL BLOCH,
9 Wimpole Street, W1,
November 2.

From Lord Wolfson of Sunningdale

Sir, To claim Maastricht as a victory was foolish because it was false, but it is equally foolish to portray Maastricht as a defeat. Maastricht was not the beginning of the end of Euro-federalism, but it could be the beginning of a coherent strategy for free trade and against federalism.

How can that strategy best be developed? That is the question the Euro-sceptics must ask themselves before they vote. Britain's future lies in Europe and we will help shape Europe. Will our voice be strengthened or weakened by a vote which defeats the prime minister as he approaches the Edinburgh summit? The answer is clear.

It might be dishonourable or dishonest for a Tory MP to renege at this point on the election manifesto: it would certainly be a mistake. Defeat for the prime minister might be satisfying to his Euro-critics, but it would not serve the cause of free trade within an enlarged Europe.

The prime minister should not be sent naked into the negotiating chamber.

Yours faithfully,
DAVID WOLFSON,
House of Lords,
November 3.

From Mr Peter Willsher

Sir, Although there is an overwhelming majority in Parliament in favour of proceeding with the European Communities (Amendment) Bill the government of this country faces the prospect of defeat tomorrow night. This is because the Labour party is exploiting the divisions amongst the Conservatives and the anti-Maastricht Tories are feeling buoyant and triumphant as a result of Labour's decision to display its lack of principles.

John Major is entirely correct in seeking to demonstrate that too many of our politicians have little or no regard for our status in Europe, upon which the future strength of our economy is so dependent. If he loses the vote he will not have lost the argument. The electorate will not forget the damage done by such an unholy alliance. John Smith stands no chance of achieving power as a result of such a pathetic demonstration of opportunism.

Yours faithfully,
PETER WILLISHER,
Brook Farm, Bexon,
Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk,
November 3.

From Mr John Browne

Sir, Although Maastricht was successfully buried as an issue at the general election, we are denied the referendum which other Europeans enjoy and for which there is already precedent here at home. On Wednesday, whips serving a cabinet, some of whose members have not even read the treaty, will attempt to strangle the democratic rights and duties of our elected representatives to vote according to their own view of our national interest.

Those Tory MPs who resist the whips will have shown conviction, courage and a sense of duty of high degree. If we, their constituents, truly believe in the costly tradition of democracy they are defending, then we must stand by them when their whips seek retribution in their constituencies.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN BROWNE
(Conservative MP for
Winchester, 1979-92),
40 South Eaton Place, SW1,
November 3.

Business letters, page 25

UK Gold channel

From Mr Anthony Morris

Sir, I protest against the BBC action in selling their classic programmes to UK Gold ("Modern Times", October 30) thereby forcing licence-fee payers to invest again in order to view repeats of programmes which they have already been obliged to finance.

Surely BBC assets, rather like the crown jewels, are the property of the nation.

Yours faithfully,
ANTHONY MORRIS,
High Rising, Pedn-Moran,
St Mawes, Cornwall.

Ties that bind

From Mr Keith Kemp

Sir, It is not only ties that bind (letters, October 23, 29; November 3). Some years ago, whilst looking at the yachts at Port Grimaud on the French Riviera, I was surprised to see a junk wearing a white ensign.

I mentioned this to the deck hand and was mighty relieved that I had not been more forthright when the deck hand, who was clearly the owner, pointed out that he was a member of the Royal Yacht Squadron.

Yours faithfully,
KEITH KEMP,
8 Lower Sloane Street, SW1.

مكتبة الأمل



COURT CIRCULAR

BUCKINGHAM PALACE
November 3: The Sultan of Brunei Darussalam and the Raja Isteri arrived in London today on a State Visit to The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh.

The Duke of York welcomed their Majesties on behalf of The Queen at Gatwick Airport, London.

The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh met The Sultan of Brunei Darussalam and The Raja Isteri at Victoria Station.

Their Majesties, accompanied by Her Majesty and His Royal Highness, drove in a Carriage Procession to Buckingham Palace with a Sovereign's Escort of the Household Cavalry, with two Standards.

Gun Salutes were fired in Green Park by the King's Troop, Royal Horse Artillery and from the Tower of London by the Honourable Artillery Company.

Guards of Honour were provided at Gatwick by The Queen's Colour Squadron of the Royal Air Force, at Victoria Station by the 1st Battalion, Grenadier Guards and at Buckingham Palace by The Queen's Guard (2nd Battalion, Grenadier Guards).

The Queen invested His Majesty with the Insignia of a Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath.

The Sultan of Brunei Darussalam and The Raja Isteri this afternoon drove to Westminster Abbey, where His Majesty laid a Wreath on the Grave of the Unknown Warrior. Afterwards, at St James's Palace, their Majesties received an Address of Welcome by the Lord Mayor and the Councils of the City of Westminster.

The Sultan of Brunei Darussalam and The Raja Isteri then visited Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother at Clarence House.

The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh gave a State Banquet this evening in honour of The Sultan of Brunei Darussalam and The Raja Isteri, at which Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother, The Duke of York, The Prince Edward, The Princess Royal, The Princess Margaret, Countess of Snowdon, The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, The Duke and Duchess of Kent and Prince and Princess Michael of Kent were present.

The following had the honour of being invited:

His Royal Highness Prince Jett Sultan Ibrahim of Brunei Darussalam and His Majesty's Household, the Sultan of Brunei Darussalam and The Raja Isteri, at which Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother, The Duke of York, The Prince Edward, The Princess Royal, The Princess Margaret, Countess of Snowdon, The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, The Duke and Duchess of Kent and Prince and Princess Michael of Kent were present.

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RHS late autumn show

Evergreens are crowned with gold

By ALAN TOOGOOD, HORTICULTURE CORRESPONDENT

THE largest collection of mahonias ever staged at a flower show is to be seen at the Royal Horticultural Society's late autumn show, which opened yesterday in Westminster.

The exhibit, which has been awarded a gold medal, consists of about 70 different kinds from the national collection of mahonias, shown by the Crown Estate Commissioners and grown in the Savill and Valley Gardens, Windsor Great Park.

Mahonias are evergreen shrubs, typically with large pinnate leaves and bold heads of yellow flowers in autumn and winter. The collection at the show ranges from old established species and hybrids to the newest, including species recently introduced from China by Roy Lancaster. The most spectacular of these is *Mahonia gracillipes* with red and white flowers and chalk-white leaf undersides.

The collection ranges from the unusual, like *Mahonia acaanthifolia* with very long drooping acanthus-like leaves, to the well-known *Mahonia x media* look-alikes 'Winter Sun', 'Buckland' and 'Charity',

with large 'cartwheels' of yellow flowers.

There is plenty of autumn leaf colour at this show, with a substantial contribution from Mallet Court Nursery, of Taunton, Somerset. The nursery has staged an educational display comparing many oaks and hollies from North America and far east Asia. The fiery autumn leaf colour is provided by the oaks, such as *Quercus serrata* from Asia and the North American *Q. rubra*. Unusual hollies abound, such as *Ilex x kochiana* whose large leaves resemble those of the sweet chestnut.

The trees, shrubs and other ornamental plants staged by Burncoose and South Down Nurseries, of Redruth, Cornwall, contribute seasonal leaf and flower colour. One of the most conspicuous plants is the jasmine-like climber *Trachelospermum jasminoides*, whose evergreen leaves have turned rich red for the winter. In spring they will revert to green. Fiery foliage is provided by the shrubs *Hydrangea quercifolia* and *Nandina domestica* 'Fire Power'. The exhibit has been awarded a gold medal. Another gold-medal winner

is Tropical Rain Forest, of Leeds, showing a collection of air plants (atmospheric tillandsias).

The RHS competition for ornamental plants with autumn interest is well supported. The National Trust's Winkworth Arboretum, of Godalming, Surrey, has won the Stephenson Clarke cup for four trees or shrubs with autumn foliage: *Nyssa sylvatica*, *Clethra barbinervis*, *Stephanandra tanakae* and *Quercus rubra*. The class for four trees or shrubs with autumn fruits has been won by Mrs E. Bullivant, of Zeals, Wiltshire, with *Rosa 'Shourton Apricot Drops'*, *Cotoneaster hybridus 'Pendulus'*, *Viburnum opulus* and *Hypericum elatum*.

There is also an exhibition of botanical paintings. Gold-medal winners here are Kristin Rosenberg, of Wokingham, Surrey (philatelic work), and Sheila Sierman, of Toronto, Ontario, Canada (species and hybrid catleys).

The show, in the New Horticultural Hall, Greycoat Street, Westminster, is open today from 10am to 5pm.

Forthcoming marriages

Mr G.M. Aborn and Miss L. Oates
The engagement is announced between Geoffrey, elder son of the late Maurice Aborn and of the late Mrs P.J. Fradgley, and Lucy, daughter of the late Mr J.D. Oates and of Mrs D.L. Chatterton, of Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

Mr J.H.T. Cope and Miss M.J. Still
The engagement is announced between Julian, son of Mr and Mrs G.E.T. Cope, of Abbot Langley, Hertfordshire, and Margaret, second daughter of Hilary Still (now Spielman), of Kilifi, Kenya, and the late Robert Still.

Mr R. J. Bennett and Miss L.E. Dean
The engagement is announced between Nicholas, eldest son of Mr Peter Bennett and the late Mrs Antonia Bennett, of Kennington, London, and Lucy, elder daughter of Mr and Mrs Geoffrey Dean, of Haywards Heath, West Sussex.

Mr N.J. McCaffrey and Miss L.A. Thompson
The marriage has been arranged and will take place on December 5, between Nicholas, son of Mr and Mrs N.J. McCaffrey, of Bayview, New South Wales, and Louise, eldest daughter of Mr and Mrs Michael Thompson, of Leamington, Western Australia.

Dr C.R. Warren and Miss S.E. Mather
The engagement is announced between Charles, son of Mr and Mrs Michael Warren, of Banks Farm, Bancombe, Sussex, and Sarah, younger daughter of Mr and Mrs Patrick Mather, of The Ghyll, Kendal, Cumbria.

Mr W.E. Gompertz and Miss C.E.K. Anderson
The engagement is announced between William, younger son of Mr and Mrs H.R. Gompertz, of Ferring, West Sussex, and Kate, only daughter of Mr and Mrs W.E.K. Anderson, of Eton.

Mr P.M. Jansen and Miss S.N. Holliday
The engagement is announced between John, son of Mr and Mrs J.M. Jansen, of Knighdown, Leicestershire, and Danielle, daughter of Mr and Mrs Philip Preston, of Thorpe Bay, Essex.

Mr J.M. Penzance and Miss S.N. Foster
The engagement is announced between John, son of Mr and Mrs D.J. Penzance, of Canterbury, Kent, and Sheena, daughter of Mr and Mrs B. Foster, of Peterborough, Cambridgeshire.

Mr H.J. Vaux and Miss L.J. Bailey
The engagement is announced between Hugo, son of Captain and Mrs J.C. Vaux, of Moulton, North Yorkshire, and Lucy, daughter of Brigadier and Mrs G.G. Bailey, of Farrington, Dorset.

Mr P.J. Kallagras and Miss L.B. Anstey
The marriage took place on October 31, at a Church of Santo Filippo, Nicosia, Cyprus, of Robert FitzPatrick, son of Mr and Mrs P.J. FitzPatrick, of Hove, West Sussex, to Alison Wilkes, only daughter of Mr and Mrs W.D.G. Wilkes, of Ecclesall, Sheffield, South Yorkshire.

The bride, who was given in marriage by her father, was attended by Geraldine Bickford and Bryony, Helen and Victoria Wilkes.

Mr P.J. Kallagras and Miss L.B. Anstey
The marriage took place on October 17, 1992, at St George's, St Thomas, US Virgin Islands, between Mr Peter Kallagras, son of the late Mr and Mrs John Kallagras, of Canton, Ohio, and Miss Lucy Anstey, daughter of Mr Simon Anstey, of Toronto, Canada, and Mrs Harry Wiggins, of Chesham, Gwent.

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Mr N.J. McCaffrey and Miss L.A. Thompson
The marriage has been arranged and will take place on December 5, between Nicholas, son of Mr and Mrs N.J. McCaffrey, of Bayview, New South Wales, and Louise, eldest daughter of Mr and Mrs Michael Thompson, of Leamington, Western Australia.

Dr C.R. Warren and Miss S.E. Mather
The engagement is announced between Charles, son of Mr and Mrs Michael Warren, of Banks Farm, Bancombe, Sussex, and Sarah, younger daughter of Mr and Mrs Patrick Mather, of The Ghyll, Kendal, Cumbria.

Mr W.E. Gompertz and Miss C.E.K. Anderson
The engagement is announced between William, younger son of Mr and Mrs H.R. Gompertz, of Ferring, West Sussex, and Kate, only daughter of Mr and Mrs W.E.K. Anderson, of Eton.

Mr P.M. Jansen and Miss S.N. Holliday
The engagement is announced between John, son of Mr and Mrs J.M. Jansen, of Knighdown, Leicestershire, and Danielle, daughter of Mr and Mrs Philip Preston, of Thorpe Bay, Essex.

Mr J.M. Penzance and Miss S.N. Foster
The engagement is announced between John, son of Mr and Mrs D.J. Penzance, of Canterbury, Kent, and Sheena, daughter of Mr and Mrs B. Foster, of Peterborough, Cambridgeshire.

Mr H.J. Vaux and Miss L.J. Bailey
The engagement is announced between Hugo, son of Captain and Mrs J.C. Vaux, of Moulton, North Yorkshire, and Lucy, daughter of Brigadier and Mrs G.G. Bailey, of Farrington, Dorset.

Mr P.J. Kallagras and Miss L.B

endeavour to dig and blast out a deeper channel for the escaping flood in its present bed of the River Portworthy. By this means it is hoped that the aluminium works will be freed from running water, and the work will be able to further advantage of exposing ground on the other side of a road which runs for 200 yards wide is still pouring. It is here, where the ruins of Machno-terrace lie, or in the line of the flood, where the missing bodies may be, but from what was visible today there seemed very little hope indeed of success in these efforts.

The largest part of Dolgarrog Village lies on the south side of the Portworthy stream, and the flood reached no nearer to it than the first large building, which was the Portworthy Hotel. Here the manager and manageress, Mr and Mrs Griffiths, and their two maids, made their escape with some little difficulty. They have had as a permanent resident there for many years a Mr A M Williams, an official of the company, who was, fortunately for himself, out when the disaster occurred. Mr Williams's first intimation of the accident, like that of the others in the picture theatre, was a succession of dull rorts. The fact that it was Monday night, when a new film was being presented, accounted for a full house, and this prevented the casualty list being larger.

هكذا عن الأصل

THE US ELECTION

Record poll as Clinton celebrates

A record turnout of more than 100 million was expected as voters queued across America and Bill Clinton, ahead in every poll, claimed "a new future for the greatest country in the history of the human race".....Pages 1, 2, 3, 4, 16

Home for the final reckoning

Mr Clinton spent the night at his campaign base in Little Rock, Arkansas, watching the electoral college votes pile up. He had returned there after a final 30 hours of campaigning which took him to eight states.....Page 1

Bush stumble tells a tale

What George Bush has called "the most unpleasant year of my life" ended with a polling-day jog during which Mr Bush stumbled. He and wife voted early in Houston but an organised, upbeat, reception for them could not hide the gloom of his aides.....Page 1

The Carter factor

Twelve years ago when the Reagan-Bush ticket came to power, the scene in America looked remarkably like today's. A discredited, weak president loses after a single term which saw his country beset with a stagnant economy and wracked with social malaise. The wheel turns full circle?.....Page 4

A year in the life of rhetoric

Sexual trysts, the President's children investigated, State Department officials dithering their suits wading through dusty files on Bill Clinton's mother...yes, that was the campaign that was. A year of excruciating moments provoking everything from laughter to tears.....Page 2

Clinton's hole history?

In the living-room wall of Bill Clinton's childhood home in Arkansas there was a bullet hole, caused when his stepfather returned home drunk and angry one night and fired a gun. In a rare confessional moment the Democrat presidential candidate once said: "I had to live with that bullet hole, look at it every day.".....Page 3

Alma mater ready to go public

The dons of University College, Oxford, will breakfast this morning to celebrate the most powerful man in the western world being one of theirs. For months, the 13th century college has been besieged by enquiries from around the world about Bill Clinton.....Page 3

How Bush lost to the press

Anthony Howard: At least twice last week George Bush had to plead with crowds of loyal Republicans not to take their resentments out on the press corps. Active antagonism towards both newspapers and television — "annoy the media. Re-elect George Bush" — has characterised the campaign.....Page 4

Gore: the robot that loosened up

Kate Muir on Al Gore: Critics suggested he was built by robots, so smooth was his countenance, so wooden were his speeches. But the gruelling days and nights on the stump melted his stiffness, and the final months have been characterised by pit-bullish, crowd-rousing attacks.....Page 3

Say, did I say that?

Who said about whom: "He doesn't seem to stand for anything". And when Bill Clinton described Mario Cuomo as "a mean son-of-a-bitch who acts like a mafioso" was he talking to his wife, or Jennifer Flowers?.....Page 4



Julia Somerville and fellow newsreader Trevor McDonald on her return yesterday to ITN three months after a brain tumour operation

Major hits back at Bangemann

John Major was last night battling to avoid defeat in tonight's Commons vote on Maastricht after angrily denouncing as silly and ill-informed the claim of Herr Martin Bangemann, a senior European commissioner, that the treaty was a milestone on the road to a federal Europe.....Pages 1, 6, 16, 17

Hospitals to go: Three of the four London teaching hospitals earmarked for closure have unexpectedly accepted the Tomlinson proposals, which could lead to the loss of thousands of beds and widespread redundancies.....Page 8

UN setback: In what could be a fatal blow for the United Nations peace plan for Cambodia, Phnom Penh has demanded an end to the dismantling of the four Cambodian factions.....Page 12

Two freed: Two of three men accused of the manslaughter of teenage twin girls who died in a barn fire were acquitted on the direction of the judge at Bristol Crown Court.....Page 8

Come claim: Doctors are to make an unprecedented request that the courts declare them immune from prosecution for murder if they switch off the feeding system of a victim of the Hillsborough soccer crush who has been in a coma for three years.....Page 9

War in Slavonia: Serbia and Croatia are moving towards a new bloody war in Slavonia if the Serbs crack down on the Albanian majority in Kosovo.....Page 11

Electrical firm Midlands Electricity is joining two other privatised companies, Southern and Eastern, to form Britain's third biggest electrical goods retailer.....Page 23

Markets: Shares rose strongly, the FTSE-100 closing 17.8 up at 2,705.6. The pound rose 2.32pt to DM2.4278, and 1.68c to \$1.5538.....Page 21

Into Europe: Leeds United and Rangers tonight battle to take Britain's flag into Europe — and collect £4 million en route.....Page 40

Into Britain: The Springboks open the British part of their tour by taking on Midland.....Page 36

Multi-faceted: Tom Phillips, British multi-media artist, interviewed about his shows at Royal Academy and National Art Library at V&A; National Gallery exhibition exploring theme of St Jerome, 4th century saint phenomenally popular with Renaissance artists (30 examples in the NG alone).....Page 29

Music: Cliff Richard, spy if not quite as young as ever, at Wembley Arena: "Queen of the Blues", singer Etta James, exhilarating African singer Baba Maal.....Page 30

Theatre: No Man's Land: Pinter in Pinter at the Almeida (Benedict Nightingale).....Page 31

Television: Kinsey (BBC 1), start of a second series, Leigh Lawson as a Birmingham solicitor.....Page 31

News value: Selina Scott is tired of being mugged by the media, and has decided to strike back.....Page 28

Free for all: Leaseholders are watching as the bill that will allow them to buy their freeholds begins its journey through parliament. Rachel Kelly investigates what the changes will mean.....Page 33

Sets to thrill: The rock concert has come a long way since we were all thrilled to file into a plush Odeon and listen to our heroes in shiny grey suits. Joseph Connolly reports on rock stage sets.....Page 14

Empty threats

Would a "no" vote tonight derail the Maastricht process, as has been claimed? Not at all. If Labour's amendment wins the day, it would merely delay the ratification process in Britain until after the Edinburgh summit. That is a perfectly respectable desire.....Page 17

Irish shenanigans

The Irish political class is girding its loins for a wholly unwanted and unnecessary general election because one minister has called another a liar. The partners in Ireland's wobbling coalition stepped back from the brink yesterday.....Page 17

A leaf from their book

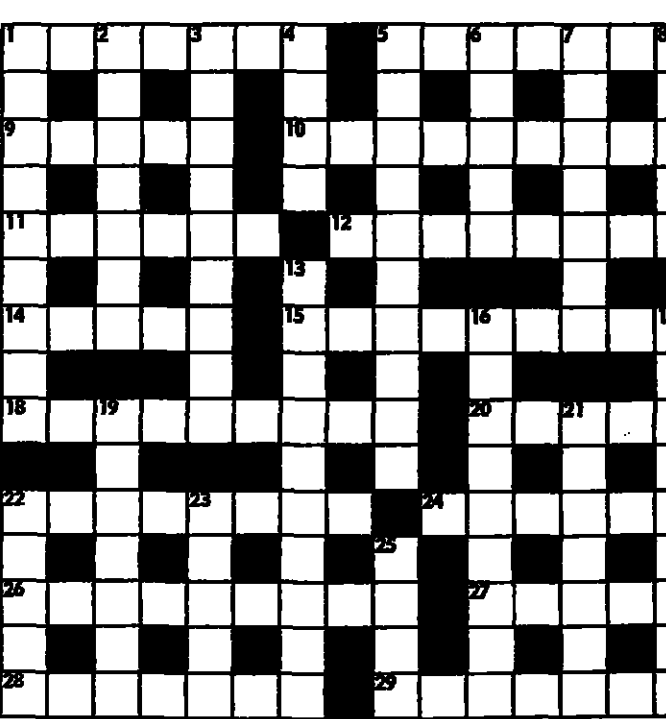
The Swedish Scrubber works with less than Scandinavian efficiency. The Austrian snake-grinder is not much better. In the good old days of steam, nature's autumnal fall never slowed the measured pace of the clanking iron horse.....Page 17

Fifteen Tory backbenchers pledge their support to the prime minister for the vote on Maastricht, despite signing an early day motion five months ago calling for a fresh start in the EC.....Page 17

Here is Bush on his way to the dustbin of history, cursed by Iraqi children... whose milk and dreams he burned. He is falling in all senses — as a president of a state, as a representative of a party, as an agent for the Mossad (Israeli intelligence). He is collapsing completely.....Page 17

Al-Jamhuriya, Baghdad

THE TIMES CROSSWORD NO 19,067



- ACROSS
- One who's leaving, a man retiring before peak (7).
 - Calm sea (7).
 - Racer who suffers a setback during the preliminaries (5).
 - The way an experienced head takes an opinion survey (5,4).
 - Rogue found in Dublin Bay (6).
 - Write off to a miser in need of reform (8).
 - Change from being fast and loose (5).
 - Where climbers go mad (2,3,4).
 - Athlete safe to give signal to start sailing (4,5).
 - Object primarily to having inquisitive neighbours gawping (5).
 - This case is incorrect? Correct (8).
 - One who puts up an uncouth fellow without taste, outwardly (6).

Solution to Puzzle No 19,066

CARTERBLANCHE
REMAINER GREPE
AARON SPANISH
BUNKER TISHMO
L E T M O
ERSATZ RIESLING
M Y C T A
SAUCERAN GOTHIC
G E P
ANGELICA SPARTA
N E Z A R E
TRENT RACKETEER
V R T A O S V I
NORTHWESTERN

TIMES WEATHER

For the latest region by region forecast, 24 hours a day, dial 0881 500 followed by the appropriate code.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|----------------|-----|
| Greater London | 701 | Greater London | 701 |
| Kent, Surrey, Sussex | 702 | Greater London | 701 |
| Dorset, Dorset & IOW | 703 | Greater London | 701 |
| Devon & Cornwall | 704 | Greater London | 701 |
| Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset | 705 | Greater London | 701 |
| Berkshire, Bucks, Oxon | 706 | Greater London | 701 |
| Bedfordshire & Herts | 707 | Greater London | 701 |
| Northamptonshire, Cambs | 708 | Greater London | 701 |
| West Midlands & Shropshire | 709 | Greater London | 701 |
| Shropshire, Hereford & Wore | 710 | Greater London | 701 |
| Central Midlands | 711 | Greater London | 701 |
| East Midlands | 712 | Greater London | 701 |
| Lincoln & Humberside | 713 | Greater London | 701 |
| Dyfed & Powys | 714 | Greater London | 701 |
| Gwynedd & Clwyd | 715 | Greater London | 701 |
| N W England | 716 | Greater London | 701 |
| W & S Yorks & Dalms | 717 | Greater London | 701 |
| E England | 718 | Greater London | 701 |
| Cumbria & Lake District | 719 | Greater London | 701 |
| S W Scotland | 720 | Greater London | 701 |
| W Central Scotland | 721 | Greater London | 701 |
| Edin & Fife, Lothian & Borders | 722 | Greater London | 701 |
| E Central Scotland | 723 | Greater London | 701 |
| Glasgow & E Highlands | 724 | Greater London | 701 |
| N W Scotland | 725 | Greater London | 701 |
| Galilee, Orkney & Shetland | 726 | Greater London | 701 |
| N Ireland | 727 | Greater London | 701 |

Weathercall is charged at 36p per minute (cheap rate) and 48p per minute at all other times.

AA ROADWATCH

For the latest AA traffic and roadworks information, 24 hours a day, dial 0836 401 followed by the appropriate code.

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| London & SE traffic, roadworks | 731 |
| C. London (within N & S Circs.) | 732 |
| M-ways/roads M1-M11 | 733 |
| M-ways/roads M1-Dartford T | 734 |
| M-ways/roads Dartford T-M25 | 735 |
| M-ways/roads M25-M4 | 736 |
| M25 London Orbital only | 737 |

National traffic and roadworks

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----|----------------|-----|
| Greater London | 737 | Greater London | 737 |
| West Country | 738 | Greater London | 737 |
| Wales | 739 | Greater London | 737 |
| Midlands | 740 | Greater London | 737 |
| East Angles | 741 | Greater London | 737 |
| North-west England | 742 | Greater London | 737 |
| North-east England | 743 | Greater London | 737 |
| Scotland | 744 | Greater London | 737 |
| Northern Ireland | 745 | Greater London | 737 |

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| Area | Temp | Wind | Cloud | Precip |
|----------|------|------|-------|--------|
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |

LONDON

Yesterday: Temp: max 8am to 6pm, 12C (54F); min 6pm to 8am, 7C (45F). Humidity: 60%; rain 6pm to 8pm, 24hr to 6pm, trace. Sun: 24hr to 6pm, 6.2hr. Sea: mean sea level, 60m, 1,013.3m, rising. 1,000m = 29.53in.

HIGHEST/LOWEST

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Monday: Highest day temp: Leeds, 15C (59F); lowest day temp: Aberdeen, Highland, 5C (41F). Highest night: Exeter, 10C (50F). Lowest night: Exeter, 10C (50F). Rain: 24hr to 6pm, 6.2hr. Sea: mean sea level, 60m, 1,013.3m, rising. 1,000m = 29.53in.

MANCHESTER

Yesterday: Temp: max 8am to 6pm, 10C (50F); min 6pm to 8am, 5C (41F). Rain: 24hr to 6pm, 0.1in. Sun: 24hr to 6pm, 3.9hr.

GLASGOW

Yesterday: Temp: max 8am to 6pm, 10C (50F); min 6pm to 8am, 5C (41F). Rain: 24hr to 6pm, 0.1in. Sun: 24hr to 6pm, 3.9hr.

WEATHER

England and Wales will be mainly dry during the morning, becoming increasingly cloudy with rain reaching all areas by evening. Scotland will have a bright start in the east, with showers in the north, becoming increasingly cloudy and wet from the west. Northern Ireland will be mainly cloudy with rain spreading by afternoon. Outlook: England and Wales will be mainly dry. Scotland and Northern Ireland will be cloudy with rain at times.

ABOVE

MIDDAY: l=thunder, d=dizzle, lg=long, s=sun, cl=cloud, r=rain, f=fog, c=cloud, f=fog

| Area | Temp | Wind | Cloud | Precip |
|----------|------|------|-------|--------|
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Abertawe | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |

LONDON

Yesterday: Temp: max 8am to 6pm, 12C (54F); min 6pm to 8am, 7C (45F). Humidity: 60%; rain 6pm to 8pm, 24hr to 6pm, trace. Sun: 24hr to 6pm, 6.2hr. Sea: mean sea level, 60m, 1,013.3m, rising. 1,000m = 29.53in.

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MANCHESTER

Yesterday: Temp: max 8am to 6pm, 10C (50F

EMBLER 4 1996
TV LISTINGS
OPINION
ON JENKINS



MEDIA 28

Selina strikes back



TENNIS 36

Durie dispels doubts with crushing victory



FOOTBALL 40

McAllister ready for Leeds United's biggest challenge

PROPERTY
ON
WEDNESDAY
Page 32

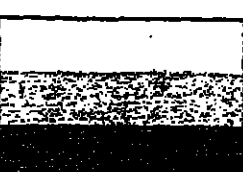
THE TIMES

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WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 4 1992

BUSINESS TODAY

KOHL MINES



Chancellor Kohl must dig up something better than yesterday's solutions to today's economic problems in Germany's "hour of truth"
Page 25

EXPRESS WAY

Express Foods, one of Britain's biggest cheese suppliers, is being bought by its management for £96 million
Page 23

SPARKS FLY



Dixons has sharply criticised an electrical goods retail joint venture formed by three electricity companies
Page 23

NEW PICTURE



A second bidder is lining up for TVS Entertainment, which loses its television franchise at the end of the year
Pages 22 and 23

THE POUND

US dollar 1.5482 (+0.0129)
German mark 2.4295 (+0.0232)
Exchange index 78.4 (+0.5)
Bank of England official close (4pm)

STOCK MARKET

FT 30 share 2957.2 (+11.1)
FT-SE 100 2705.6 (+17.8)
New York Dow Jones 3266.26 (+4.05)
Tokyo Nikkei Ave Closed

INTEREST RATES

London: Bank Base: 8%
3-month interbank: 7 1/4-7 1/2%
3-month bank bills: 6 1/2-6 3/4%
US Prime Rate: 6%
Federal Funds: 3 1/4%
Treasury Treasury Bills: 3.02-3.01%
30-year bonds: 95 1/2-95 1/4

CURRENCIES

London: New York:
£ 21 5815 \$ 31 5485
£ DM2 4239 \$ DM1 5825
£ Sfr12 229 \$ Sfr11 3930
£ FF16 2115 \$ FF15 2940
£ Yen122 20 Yen122 20
£ Index: 78.4 \$ Index: 64.1
ECU: £0 8:4064 SDR: £0 904945
ECU1 229419 SDR1 105039
London Futures market close

GOLD

London Fixing:
AM \$338.75 PM \$338.60
Ounce \$338.40-338.90
501.9 90-219 00
New York:
Ounce \$ 338.85-339.35

NORTH SEA OIL

Brent (Nov) \$19.45/bbl (\$19.45)

RETAIL PRICES

RPI: 138.4 September (1987=100)
* Denotes monthly trading price

House prices plummet 4% in two months

By Lindsay Cook

HOUSE prices fell 2.7 per cent during October, according to the Nationwide, the second largest building society. This follows the 1.4 per cent fall in prices reported by the society for September.

The figures indicate that prices, having fallen by more than 4 per cent over two months, are set to continue falling during November and December, traditionally bad months. Lenders had hoped that the Halifax's fall of 3.1 per cent in September was an isolated figure.

John Wriglesworth, housing analyst at UBS Phillips & Drew, said: "September was clearly not a one-off. There is a very strong decline in the housing market - this puts extra pressure on the government for an initiative to help the housing market. The fall in interest rates alone is not restoring confidence. A temporary measure to stimulate the market that could be withdrawn when the market begins to recover is needed."

Every fall in house prices brings more people into the housing debt trap. In the summer, the Council of Mortgage Lenders put the number of borrowers owing more than the value of the house at more than a million.

The Halifax figure for October, to be published later today, will not be twice as bad as September's. It will show a "less sharp fall," said the largest mortgage lender.

Further falls in house prices confirm that consumer confidence is severely depressed, despite mortgage rates being cut in September and October

Tim Melville-Ross, chief executive of the Nationwide said: "I would expect when the Halifax publishes its figure for October it will mirror our September one and that both will show a two month fall of over 4 per cent."

In October, the average house price fell by £1,491 to £53,038 according to Nationwide. At the top of the market, in the third quarter of 1989, Nationwide reported the average house price as £66,179.

The annual fall for Nationwide is 6.6 per cent. At the end of September, Halifax reported that the annual fall was 7.5 per cent. This is likely to have worsened in October. The difference in the two societies' figures for the two months is caused by the Nationwide taking approvals up to the 21st of the month, while the Halifax works on the calendar figures. This meant Nationwide missed most of the uncertainty caused by Black Wednesday in its September figures. The October house price fall was the worst from the Nationwide since October 1990 when prices fell 3.7 per cent.

Mr Melville-Ross said: "It is not good news and dramatically underlines the need for

the government to produce a package of housing market measures. Confidence needs to be restored in the housing market and the economy."

Mortgage rates will be at their lowest for 15 years from next month and, as wages have increased while prices have fallen, house prices are at their most affordable since 1971. But there is no incentive for first-time buyers, afraid prices will continue falling.

Last month, the government gave the go-ahead to building societies to make unsecured loans of up to £25,000 to help homebuyers caught in the debt trap to move.

Lenders, however, said this would only help small numbers as unsecured loan rates are about twice those of mortgages. Mortgage lenders have been campaigning for almost a year for a change to the mortgage tax relief system to encourage buyers into the market.

They argue that a raising of the tax relief ceiling for new or first-time buyers could be offset by a reduction in the level of this relief for existing borrowers.

Comment, page 25

Tumbling reserves signal cost of Black Wednesday

By Colin Nibbrough, Economics Correspondent

ANOTHER big fall in Britain's underlying reserves last month, after a record drop in September, reinforced City conviction that as much as £20 billion may have been deployed in the ill-fated attempt to keep sterling in the European exchange-rate mechanism.

Treasury figures showed that underlying reserves of gold and currency, the best published pointer to intervention, fell \$3.02 billion last month as the complex web of central bank transactions leading up to September 16 - Black Wednesday - continued to unwind. In September, the reserves fell \$7.79 billion.

The pound fared better yesterday after a bad start to the week, largely on worsening market sentiment for the mark amid mounting fears of recession in Germany. In a thin, volatile market awaiting the outcome of the American presidential election and the Commons vote on the Maastricht treaty, sterling climbed to

DM2.4295 by the London close, up more than 24 pence from Monday, despite remarks by Bundesbank officials seemingly intended to dampen hopes of any early exit in German interest rates.

Against the rising dollar, buoyed by the prospect of victory for Bill Clinton, the Democrats' contender, sterling gained more than 1 1/2 cents to \$1.5492 and added 0.5 to its trade-weighted index to 78.4.

The pound rose, despite persistent money market expectations of a further cut in base rates from the present 8 per cent. The benchmark three-month interbank rate points to 7 per cent, but some forecasts now believe 6 per cent possible by Christmas.

The Treasury reserve figures provided greater insight into the extent of the massive, but futile, intervention by the Bank of England in September. Despite the further big drop in October, currency market analysts expect the re-

serve figures to continue to show falls for several months, as the full extent of intervention is played out. The financial markets took little notice of the October data.

The Bank bought sterling at spot market prices and as fixed rates on forward contracts. Special swaps and temporary borrowing arrangements were also made with other central banks. Total reserves have been largely replenished since September 16. They stood at just over \$42 billion at the end of October. But foreign currency has had to be bought back with devalued sterling at a considerable loss.

Simon Briscoe, economist at Midland Montagu, estimates that the intervention, including Bundesbank lending yet to be repaid, involved about £20 billion. He puts the government's loss at about £1.5 billion, enough to cut almost a full point off income tax.

Stock market, page 24



"Scrap self-regulatory bodies": Mick Newmarch wants direct government supervision of investment firms

Pru chief calls for British SEC

By Lindsay Cook, Money Editor

A CALL for the government to take over direct control of the regulation of investment firms was made last night by Mick Newmarch, chief executive of Prudential Corporation, the country's largest insurer and pension fund manager.

This would involve scrapping self-regulatory bodies such as the Securities and Investments Board and give Britain the equivalent of America's watchdog, the Securities and Exchange Commission.

The voluntary regulation system was not working, said Mr Newmarch in the Jubilee lecture to the Staple Inn Actuarial Society. "The Financial Services Act is an unsatisfactory basis for the adequate protection of savers. The implementation of the act was bold and well intentioned, but the

government should now acknowledge that the experiment has failed and begin to organise investor protection on a fully statutory basis under direct government control."

The criticism came as the regulation of investment appears to be in disarray and the proposed merger of the Life Assurance and Unit Trust Regulatory Organisation (Laurtro) and the Financial Intermediaries, Managers and Brokers Regulatory Association (Fimbra) and part of the membership of the Investment Management Regulatory Organisation (Imro) to form the Personal Investment Authority in jeopardy. The Lucas report recommended the formation of one organisation to regulate all personal investment business but life

companies, banks and building societies are reluctant to pick up the compensation bill for failed Fimbra members.

Mr Newmarch said: "It has become apparent beyond reasonable doubt that PIA does not enjoy the support necessary in the industry to achieve its successful launch as the sole regulator of private investor business." He called for a committee of enquiry to establish how a fully statutory regime could operate.

"The approach adopted by the Financial Services Act is harmful in two respects. It distances government from responsibility at the same time as denying practitioners effective control. The whole point of regulation is to protect consumers. This can only be achieved to a consistent, satis-

factory level in the long run by a material improvement in operating standards across the board in the retail sector."

The setting up of SIB was unprecedented and it was now time to "face up to the fact that this approach has not worked and to revert to the conventional, proven statutory basis for regulation," he said.

Kit Jebens, chief executive of Laurtro, which regulates the Pru, said: "It is an interesting analysis. Some parts we would agree with. I would not want to comment on it in detail."

A SIB spokeswoman said Laurtro's record showed the life industry had a lot to answer for and that its regulator had been effective in stopping mis-sale of investment products.

Comment, page 25

Renewed fears of German recession

By Wolfgang Münchau

FEARS of a German recession were fuelled yesterday by the most gloomy survey of business confidence for more than 10 years.

The survey, conducted by the German chambers of industry and commerce, indicated a sharp worsening of confidence over the past year, reflecting increasing scepticism about the international economic outlook, the prospect for exports and the government's economic policy.

Only 22 per cent of respondents in west Germany described the present situation as good, compared with twice

as many respondents one year ago, while 25 per cent said that situation was bad, compared with 11 per cent in 1991. Asked about their own businesses, 38 per cent of west German firms expected improvements in the next year, while 13 per cent expect a deterioration.

Franz Schoser, executive director of the chambers, said that 1993 would be a difficult year. "After the unification boom a recession can no longer be excluded."

German pessimism, page 23
Hard choices, page 25

Barclays castigated by deputy chairman

By Neil Bennett, Banking Correspondent

SIR Peter Middleton, the deputy chairman of Barclays, has attacked his own bank for lacking strategic direction and failing to appreciate risk. The outburst comes as Barclays de Zoete Wedd, the bank's securities division where Sir Peter is chairman, forecast that the bank will report a loss of £65 million and will cut its dividend this year due to spiralling bad debt provisions.

In an interview in the December issue of *Banking World*, Sir Peter, who joined the bank a year ago from his post as permanent secretary to the Treasury, is deeply critical of Barclays and its management. "I do think the group was lacking a clear sense of direction. It had done well if you look back over the past five years. But when you are going well you tend to forget certain things," he said.

He also attacks the bank's recent reorganisation. "One thing I learnt in the Treasury was that reorganisations should generally be avoided. If you have a problem solve the problem.



Sir Peter: ex-Treasury mandarin

Don't change the organisation. If you do, you'll end up with two problems," he said. Later in the interview he concedes that the reorganisation, which split treasury operations away from the retail and corporate bank, has brought long-term benefits. Sir

Peter reserves his harshest comments for the bank's decision-making and risk management. "The decision-making process I find somewhat difficult to understand. Decision making is a very difficult process," he said in a clear criticism of the board and senior management.

He claims that his own business at BZW is better at handling risk than the rest of the group. "Those in investment banking have a much clearer appreciation of risk than do those in domestic banking. The risk in domestic banking... is extraordinarily difficult to assess. It is a long-term process."

Sir Peter's remarks are likely to infuriate Andrew Buxton, the bank's chairman-elect, who, as managing director, ran the bank in the late eighties. When Sir Peter joined the bank last year he was widely expected to succeed Sir John Quinton as chairman. But the bank has decided instead to hand the roles of both chairman and chief executive to Mr Buxton.

Julian Robins, the bank analyst at BZW, yesterday cut his forecast for the

bank from a £305 million profit to a £65 million loss. He expects the bank to make record bad debt provisions of £2.4 billion this year due to the continuing deterioration of the British economy. This and the lack of any sign of recovery signs will force the bank to cut its final dividend by 58 per cent to just 5p.

Robert Fleming also reduced its profit forecast for the bank yesterday to £40 million after analysing company insolvency data from Dun & Bradstreet, the business information group. This shows that the rate of business failures is still rising, and Barclays is suffering from heavy debts, particularly from the property and construction industries.

Barclays has been ravaged this year by the collapse of a succession of its largest customers, including Olympia & York and Mountleigh. The bank is also being forced to organise expensive rescues for other companies such as Control Securities and Heron International. Pre-tax profits in the first half of the year sank by 87 per cent to £51 million as the domestic market plunged to a £79 million loss.

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سكنا من الأصل



Lower gearing: David Callear, TIP's chief executive, has cut the interest bill

TIP Europe climbs slowly uphill

TIP Europe, headed by David Callear, is stuck in the crawler lane, according to the latest figures, with a long, uphill haul ahead. It is a year since the trailer rental group sought to level the gradient by raising £29 million through an HGV, five-for-six rights issue at 40p. Yesterday, the shares closed 1½p down at 31p. Progress, clearly, is slow.

The rights issue brought balance sheet gearing down from 353 per cent to 168 per cent, which, by the standards of the leasing industry, is modest. A year on, and gearing has edged down to 162 per cent. But with trading as flat as it is, that is enough to keep profits in first gear.

With the rights issue proceeds helping reduce the interest bill from £16.1 million to £14 million, pre-tax profits rose £6 million to £7.5 million, further assisted by a reduction in exceptional items covering rationalisation and restructuring. But, with the rights issue so significantly increasing the number of shares, earnings per share fell from 5.1p (4.2p after adjusting for the bonus element in the rights issue) to 3.9p. As a result the final dividend is cut

from 1.26p (restated as 1.05p) to 0.76p, for a total of 1.4p (1.82p adjusted to 1.52p).

With the company hanging on to rental increases in the home market, the British trailer rental operation encouragingly returned to profit. But there was a sharp fall in net profit from continental Europe from £8.5 million to £4.9 million, where a number of important markets are in, or heading for, recession.

Pre-tax profits of £9 million would put the shares on a p/e of eight. Probably high enough, given the uncertainties in Europe.

Thames Water

WATER shares are proving attractive at this stage of the economic cycle. They are not invulnerable to recession. Thames lost another 2.5 per cent of metered volume in the first half to end-September, with virtually no offsetting cost saving, and volume losses will certainly not be regained until the economy has recovered substantially. Profits have still moved ahead, however, albeit by just 5 per cent to £124 million. Meanwhile, water shares still sell principally on their dividend yield, so they benefit immediately in relative terms when interest rates are tumbling.

Thames has increased its interim dividend by an inflation-beating 8 per cent to 6.9p per share. The full year's payment should rise similarly, giving a safe prospective yield of 5.7 per cent at 484p. The recession is doing its worst, so remaining risk lies in environmental and financial regulation, and diversification.

Thames has slipped near the bottom of the water-purity league because it bears the brunt of pesticide problems. These are being dealt with by new intensive treatment plants and prospectively by a similar filter technique in conventional treatment works. Abstraction from sensitive rivers will also be reduced by the ring main, now a year ahead of schedule, and a new water source.

Diversification is unimpressive but at an early stage, being readied to provide non-regulated profits when real dividend rises are harder to come by after the mid-term review. The basis of what will use for that may become clearer next week. Meantime,

Thames did an interesting deal with the regulator over reductions in permitted price rises up to 1995, under which it will absorb more risk on construction and energy costs and commercial rates.

This agreement will also be written permanently into its financial regime after the review, in exchange for some unspecified allowance on the cost of capital. That looks a good deal for a management that is competent at coping quickly with changing conditions. The shares offer value but Ofwat revelations could cause a short-term shock.

TVS

TVS Entertainment, now being stalked by Pat Robertson, the American television evangelist, is the Lazarus of the media sector. In March, the shares were 34p and the group apparently had nothing to look forward to beyond the last nine months of its current broadcasting franchise. Shareholders could now have the unimagined luxury of choosing between two possible approaches.

Mr Robertson's offer was for 23p cash or shares in his

NYSE-quoted International Family Entertainment. A second potential approach, from an unnamed third party, said to be a New York entertainment business with the backing of a big American financial institution, sent the shares up 3½p to 25p.

Assessing a fair price for TVS, whose main assets are its hard-to-value catalogue of programmes, is a thankless task. Four years ago, investment bankers decided the MTM business alone was worth \$320 million, for example. But Vignesh Padichy, at BZW, has reached a tentative figure of £41 million, comprising fixed assets of £7 million, a British programme library worth £2 million, expected net cash in the bank at the end of the year of £12 million and £20 million for MTM. This last figure is conservative, given that Disney was snuffing around at \$70 million not long ago.

Mr Robertson is offering just £38 million. His formal offer document is imminent but he cannot take control until January 1. After the rise in the dollar he can now afford to bid more. Shareholders should stick around.

BUSINESS ROUNDUP

EC investigates BA's stake in TAT

THE European Commission has begun a preliminary investigation of British Airways' purchase of a 49.9 per cent stake in TAT, the regional French airline. Although the deal, which would give TAT the financial clout to be the first serious domestic rival to Air France, could have far-reaching consequences for the Community's airline industry, Brussels is thought unlikely to pursue an enquiry.

BA's route into the French market follows events in which Air France has tried to strengthen its position, but has had to make concessions to satisfy the commission. The first was last year, when Air France took over UTA, the French domestic carrier, and acquired majority control of Air Inter, another French airline. Sir Leon Brittan, the EC competition commissioner, gave the go-ahead to the deal on the condition that Air France sold TAT, its domestic airline.

Moore to chair Quicks

MICHAEL Moore, 56, is to be the first person from outside the Quick family to chair Quicks, a Manchester-based vehicle and parts company. He has joined the board and will take over as chairman from Norman Quick, who retires at the end of the year and becomes life president. Mr Moore is chairman of Tomkins, the industrial conglomerate embroiled in a takeover battle with Hanson for Ranks Hovis McDougall. He is also chairman of the Bank of Edinburgh Group and of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

Institutes may merge

THE Securities Institute, the body set by the London Stock Exchange in January to represent the interests of individual stockbrokers, is to hold merger talks with the professional association for investment analysts. The two organisations have agreed to set up a working party, which will meet this month. The analysts' association is known as the Institute of Investment Management and Research (IIMR), having changed its name from the Society of Investment Analysts in July.

Frederick Cooper slips

FREDERICK Cooper, the architectural hardware, specialist coatings and electrical products group, made pre-tax profits of £3.4 million (£3.9 million) in the year to end-July. Profits were affected by an exceptional cost of £165,000, which arose from surpluses on the winding up of pensions schemes and profits from the disposal of property less the costs associated with further rationalisation. Fully diluted earnings per share were 5.1p (6p). A final dividend of 0.5p (2.5p) a share makes a total for the year of 2p (4p).

Adidas sale planned

PLANS to sell Adidas, the German sportswear firm, are likely to be announced soon, a spokesman for Credit Lyonnais, the French bank, said. The bank's Clinvest unit holds a 10 per cent stake in Bernard Tapie Finance, which has 95 per cent of Adidas. The spokesman said several plans were being studied and that a choice may be made as early as this week. It has been reported that Bernard Tapie, the French businessman, may sell out of Bernard Tapie Finance.

Kenwood buys in HK

KENWOOD, the electrical consumer goods company, announced a £3.1 million deal to buy Tricom, based in Hong Kong, which makes kitchen appliances such as coffee-makers and kettles. Kenwood, which was floated on the stock market in June, wants to increase sales to the Chinese market. The company also has an option to buy a 50-year lease on Tricom's factory in Guangdong province, close to the Shenzhen special economic zone in southern China, for £800,000.

Coopers refutes suit

COOPERS & Lybrand has refuted a lawsuit filed by Corporate Partners LP against it. David Shapiro, chief executive of embattled Phar-Mor Inc, and Giant Eagle Inc, a supermarket chain. The suit, filed in an Ohio federal court, seeks at least \$200 million in damages, alleging that Coopers violated accounting principles in its annual audit of Phar-Mor. The accountant said the allegations "are old news, contrary to the facts and have been refuted previously".

Nestlé and DFI link

DAIRY Farm International Holdings has signed an agreement with Nestlé to set up a joint venture company to make and distribute ice cream and chilled products in Hong Kong and China. Nestlé will pay HK\$1.25 billion (£104.6 million) in cash for the Dairy Farm trademarks and 51 per cent of Dairy Farm's manufacturing interests. Dairy Farm will use the proceeds as working capital and for reinvestment.

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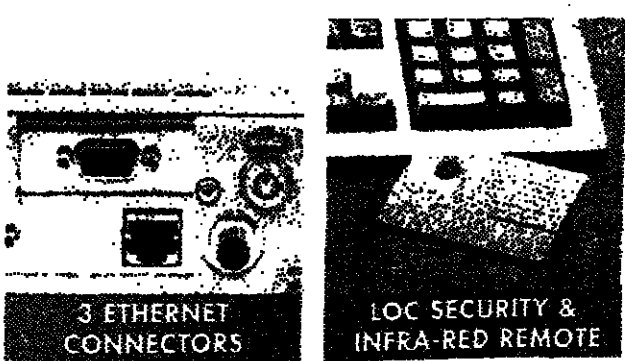
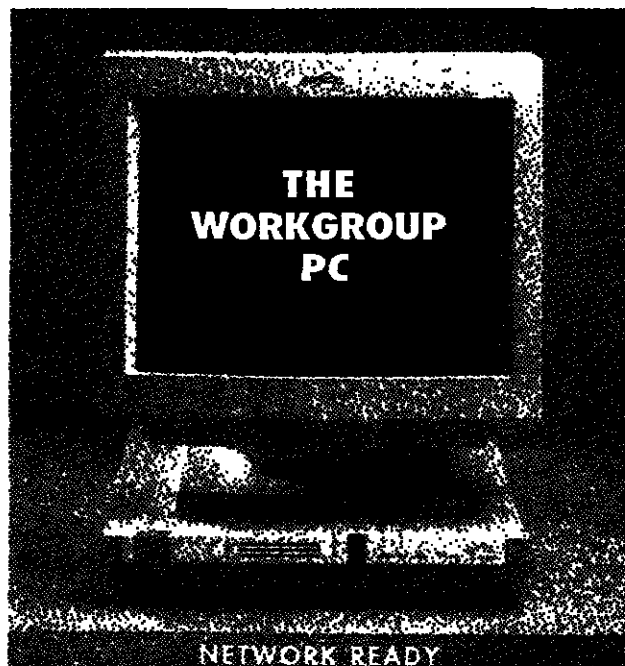
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Midlands joins power suppliers' retailing venture

By MARTIN WALLER
DEPUTY CITY EDITOR

MIDLANDS Electricity is joining the joint venture formed by two other regional electricity companies, Eastern and Southern, to create the third biggest retailer of electrical goods in Britain.

The move was sharply criticised by Dixons Group, which is calling for an investigation of the regional companies by the Office of Fair Trading. The companies are increasingly merging their retail businesses, and Dixons claims they enjoy an unfair competitive advantage on the high street.

Dixons, including its Currys chain, is the biggest seller of electrical goods in Britain.

Electricity distribution companies may be providing unfair competition in the high street by subsidising sales of electrical goods with profits from regulated operations

followed by Comet, which is owned by the Kingfisher group. The arrival of Midlands as the third partner in E&S Retail, however, will create a company with combined sales of £250 million and increase the number of shops from 229 to 311.

Midlands decided to exercise an option to join the other two at the weekend, as the option period expired. The company said almost all the 800 or so staff employed

directly would be transferred to the joint venture but there might be job losses among support staff.

Mark Souhami, deputy chairman of Dixons, said the company would have completed its submission to the OFT by the end of the year. This will claim that the electricity industry's retail businesses enjoy an unfair advantage because they have the support of the lucrative core business of electricity supply and distribution while remaining themselves only marginally profitable.

This advantage is increased by retail mergers in the industry, which offer savings in overheads and increased buying power, Dixons claims.

The electricity companies have always denied subsidising their retail businesses out of profits generated by their regulated activities.

But Mr Souhami said the retail businesses of Eastern and Midlands had lost more than £14 million between them in the last financial year, while those of Southern had been marginally profitable. That did not take account of interest costs that were incurred by retail and charged to the group as a whole.

"The implication is that they must be making substantially more money than can be justified on electricity supply," he said. "That's the only way you can continue an expansionist policy in retail."

A spokesman for Midlands said the OFT held no fears for the business. "We're entirely confident that we're competing fairly. We have good names and good brands, and we will have a better buying policy and reduced overheads."

"Midlands retailing is profitable by itself and has always been run as a separately accounted company. But it obviously is encouraging if the opposition is getting worried."

He refused to discuss the market share of the joint venture for "commercial reasons". But Dixons believes the regional electricity companies enjoy about 10 per cent in their respective regions, while their concentration on white goods such as cookers and washing machines would give them a much higher share in those areas.



Raising the profit level: Mike Hoffman, chief executive, (left) and Sir Roy Watts, chairman, after announcing results yesterday

Thames Water makes 5% gain

By GRAHAM SEARJEANT
FINANCIAL EDITOR

THAMES Water raised its pre-tax profits 5 per cent to £124 million in the six months to end-September. Sir Roy Watts, the chairman, said strong management and improved efficiency had offset the effects of recession. The interim dividend is increased 8 per cent to 6.9p from earnings that rose 6 per cent to 30.1p, helped by many shareholders taking their dividends in shares rather than cash.

The volume of metered water sales, which had dropped 4.5 per cent in the year to end March, fell 2.5 per cent in the latter months of the first half, coming straight out of profits. Turnover of the main utility business gained 8 per cent to £295 million but operating costs rose only 3.2 per cent to £260 million, mostly due to higher depreciation.

Recent rains have helped water supplies, leaving reservoirs full and increasing the level of underground water. The recession hit property sales, which produced only £2 million income, down from £6 million a year ago. Thames has held on to properties rather than take depressed prices.

Progress of the unregulated water engineering businesses, principally the PWT water engineering group, was also slowed owing to shortage of domestic orders. Overall, the non-core businesses made only £0.7 million pre-tax profit from £123 million of turnover in the first half after financing costs. Mike Hoffman, the chief executive, said this was mainly due to the build up of activities, including spending on an application to manage the Buenos Aires water system, where Thames hopes to be on a shortlist of two announced this week. Acquisitions in America and east Germany have also incurred early losses.

Sir Roy said the agreement reached with Ofwat to reduce price limits until 1995 and to remove some variation clauses in its licence had brought security and stability.

Tempos, page 22

Survey highlights extent of German business gloom

By WOLFGANG MÜNCHAU, EUROPEAN BUSINESS CORRESPONDENT

GERMAN companies are more pessimistic now than at any time in the past ten years, according to a survey by the German Federation of Chambers of Commerce (DIHT). The survey results provide yet another indication that Europe's largest economy is about to slide into recession.

The report coincided with more bad economic news. In Bonn, Theo Waigel, finance minister, admitted the economic slowdown would take its toll on public finances, which will lead to an increase of the federal budget deficit by DM6 billion to DM44 billion next year, because of lower-than-expected tax revenues.

In Leipzig, Helmut Schlie-

singer, president of the Bundesbank, gave warning against expectations of further interest rate cuts. He said reductions would depend on wage moderation and prudent fiscal policies. "Both of these factors will create room to manoeuvre in monetary policy in the future," he said.

"That means that we can buy things more cheaply than would otherwise have been the case and there is as a result a certain calming on the domestic price front."

He gave warning that the German economy could not sustain wages rising 5 per cent or more while productivity is only growing at 1 per cent.

Yesterday's DIHT survey of

25,000 German companies gave an inkling of the pessimism that has permeated German industry. One third of respondents said they would shed staff and reduce investments over the next year. The number of respondents who described the economic situation as good halved in the course of a year to 22 per cent. "Prices continue to rise, state debt is steadily increasing, an increase in value-added tax has been decided and there are fears of an additional tax burden. There is no sign of an early return to consolidation and stability," the survey concludes.

Hard choices, page 25

Powerscreen profits rise bucks trend

POWERSCREEN International, the maker of screening and crushing equipment, has defied the worldwide recession to report an 18 per cent increase in pre-tax profits to £11.2 million in the six months to end-September.

The company gave a warning, however, that the second half could be tough. Helped by strong improvements in the American and Far Eastern markets, turnover rose 22 per cent to £51.3 million.

The company believes that its wide geographical spread of markets, broad customer base and product range application, will enable it to meet its targets for the year to March 1993.

The interim dividend is increased to 1.8p (1.7p).

Second potential bidder for TVS

By OUR DEPUTY CITY EDITOR

TVS Entertainment, the ITV contractor that will lose its franchise to broadcast to the South of England at the end of the year, has announced a second possible bid approach.

TVS has agreed a £38 million offer from a company controlled by Pat Robertson, the American television evangelist and one-time presidential candidate. Rudolph Agnew, the chairman, said the second approach, from an unnamed party, might or might not result in an alternative offer.

TVS shares rose 3½p to 25p. Reports suggested that a New York entertainment company was considering a bid, with the backing of TCW Capital, part of Trust Company of the West.

Mr Robertson's International Family Entertainment is offering 23p a share cash and 43p for TVS preference shareholders. Any other bidder faces a difficult task, as investors speaking for 31 per cent of the shares have irrevocably accepted that offer.

Mr Robertson's offer has, however, run into opposition from preference shareholders. Julian Treger, adviser to a group of preference holders, said they would rank ahead of ordinary shareholders if the company went into liquidation. That offered them the chance of repayment of the £1 par value and a further 10p of accrued interest, substantially more than the cash on offer.



Agnew: no offer yet

Tempos, page 22

Heseltine's industry warning

By ROSS TIEMAN, INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

ANY failure by Parliament to give a clear signal that Britain will remain "at the centre of Europe" would be deeply damaging to British industry, Michael Heseltine, the trade secretary, said.

His warning, issued on the eve of today's debate over ratification of the Maastricht treaty on European union, echoes calls from leading industrialists for MPs to demonstrate Britain's commitment to the single market.

Mr Heseltine passed up the opportunity to clarify his position on industrial intervention or to unveil any new policy initiatives. Those must wait for the Chancellor's Autumn Statement next week, he said. However, responding to a call from the Confederation of British Industry for a partnership with industry, Mr Heseltine said relations between his department and business leaders had already improved markedly.

Speaking on industrial policy to the Institute of Fiscal Studies in London, Mr Heseltine acknowledged the problems posed by a lack of confidence in Britain's economy. He also insisted there was no short cut to competitiveness, and that he would maintain his emphasis on supply-side reforms.

Mr Heseltine re-emphasised the internal reforms he has undertaken at the trade and industry department, including establishing a competitiveness unit, and improving the department's services to industry. But DTI spending accounted for only a fraction of

government spending, and could never provide the incentive needed to revive Britain's economy. Rather, he had been working in private to ensure other departments acted in the best interests of industry. Such things were better done without publicity, he said.

Mr Heseltine promised an early announcement on new measures to lift burdens on business. He planned to launch a market-by-market review of British industry's export performance.

In his speech, Mr Heseltine said it was "impossible to overstate the importance of the European market if we are going to secure the restoration of confidence in the British economy".

City Diary, page 25

Managers stake faith in Express Foods

By JON ASHWORTH

ROGER Davenport, managing director of Express Foods, one of Britain's biggest cheese manufacturers, is toasting the success of his £96 million management buyout from Grand Metropolitan.

Mr Davenport, 44, has clubbed together with three directors and 25 senior Grand Met managers to buy a sizeable slice of their newly independent company.

Mr Davenport said: "A group of us got together about a year ago and said: 'Let's have a go'. We've put in enough money for us to be keen for it to work without losing sleep at night. We're not rich people. It's a matter of hundreds of thousands of pounds rather than millions."

He turned for advice to Simon Oliver, a cheese trader who provides packaged cheese for big food stores. He has taken a stake and becomes non-executive chairman.

Mr Davenport said the



Cheddar gorge: Roger Davenport celebrates the sale

company's 1,700 employees have no need to panic. "We're not going to sack hundreds of people; we're not going to give off parts of the business." A flotation may follow eventually, but raising profits is the immediate priority.

Individual shareholders in-

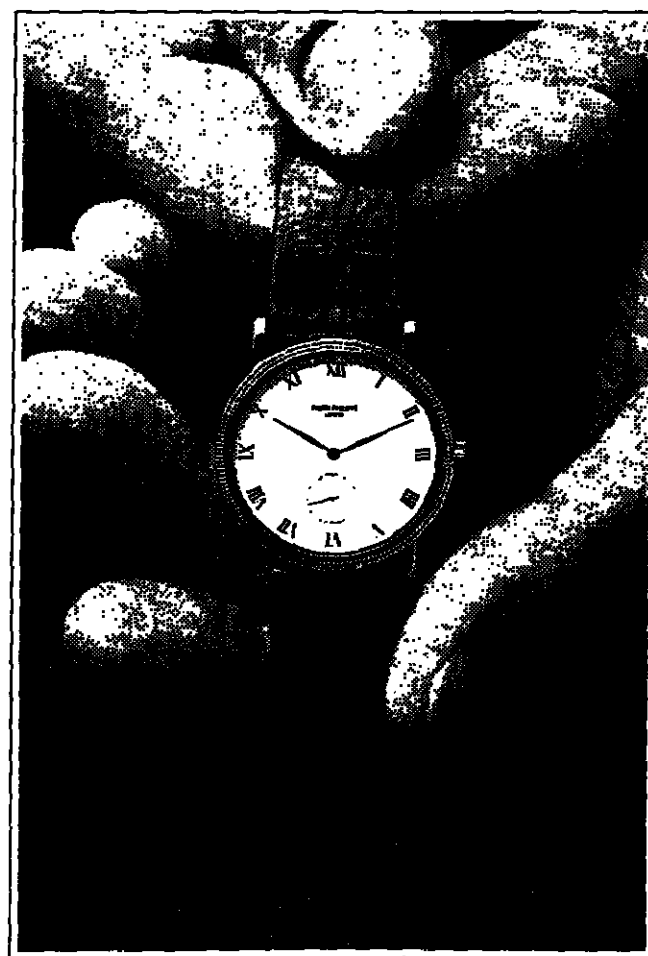
clude Bob Trott, retail & industrial director and deputy managing director, Jim Murphy, commercial and operations director, and Andrew Leigh, finance director.

The deal was backed by Electra Kingsway, a fund management group specialising in private equity investments. Electra has taken a 60 per cent stake and Prudential Venture Capital 20 per cent. Bank of Tokyo advised. The deal has been funded through £45 million loans and £51 million equity investment.

Express Foods is among the 30 biggest food companies in the UK with a turnover of £270 million. Trading profits last year were approximately £13 million. It is one of the main suppliers of cheeses to stores such as Marks and Spencer, and its catering arm supplies cheese to hotels, hospitals and restaurants.

The company is the last part of GrandMet's dairy empire to be sold off under a divestment programme. Express Dairy and Eden Vale were sold to Northern Foods in February for £359 million. Waterford Foods and Carbery Creameries bought the Irish businesses for £199 million in July. The sale of the Express interests has raised close to £550 million.

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a particular Patek Philippe movement requires four years of continuous work to bring to absolute perfection, we will take four years. The result will be a watch that is unlike any other. A watch that conveys quality from first glance and first touch. A watch with a distinction: generation after generation it has been worn, loved and collected by those who are very difficult to please; those who will only accept the best. For the day that you take delivery of your Patek Philippe, you will have acquired the best. Your watch will be a masterpiece, quietly reflecting your own values. A watch that was made to be treasured.

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KEYS

y moves starts

SIB is back in the dock

Private doubts over the effectiveness of financial services regulation have been growing apace in the City. America's Securities and Exchange Commission, once viewed as the worst of all possible bureaucratic models, has found friends in the most unlikely places. The call by the head of Britain's biggest life assurance company for self-regulation to be scrapped in favour of direct government control will force the issue to the top of the agenda of relations between the City and Whitehall.

The Prudential and other big respectable financial institutions have mixed motives. For them, one of the problems of self-regulation is that they, rather than the taxpayer, pick up the bill for the incompetent or corrupt. Yet Mick Newmarch's public dismissal of the system centred on the SIB was surely brought by a tide of sheer frustration: over regulatory failure in the Maxwell affair, over the impasse on disclosure of life assurance costs, most of all over the messy attempt to create a new Personal Investment Authority. The proposal to create the PIA was itself the SIB's response to the failure of important parts of the secondary tier of industry self-regulation over which it presided. To conclude that the system itself is basically flawed is but a short step.

The key to reform is, however, the substance rather than the form of relations between industries and those who regulate them on behalf of the public. Direct regulation by the DTI of investment companies, which operated so miserably in cases such as Barlow Clowes, failed because it lacked independent leadership, professional nous and was a poor relation within a government department, a drawback also apparent at the Bank of England. The SIB system, essentially a form of statutory regulation contracted out to the industry, started well, but was too bureaucratic. Later, it swung too far in the opposite direction, becoming captive to the industry in some areas while contracting out too much of its work to specific industry bodies that were of mixed quality. Some have built a strong reputation. Others are simply not up to the job.

Independence from Whitehall needs to be combined with independence from the industries regulated and freedom from any taint of the trade association. The SIB has not achieved that.

No confidence

House prices have fallen by between four and five per cent in the past two months, according to building society estimates. This is the most depressing statistic of all for those looking for a decisive turning point in the economy. A combination of low prices and much lower mortgage costs should present buyers with a wonderful bargain. Sadly, markets are not so simple. Why should first time buyers, above all, invest in a falling market when they have seen the misery caused to so many who have had to sell at a loss that wiped out their capital and more? This particular period was full of special factors, including the untimely end of stamp duty relief and the unnecessarily messy devaluation.

Such a rapid fall in prices is most unlikely to be repeated. The timing of revival is less sure, for it depends less on hard financial calculation than on confidence. That is where the government's weakness, ineptitude, and sheer lack of courage over devaluation have done so much damage. Policy is hardly the issue. Cuts in interest rates are, after all, the best possible medicine for the housing market. It would have been better if they had done nothing but demonstrated masterly calm, competence and an ability to react to changing conditions before rather than after the political roof falls in. So long as the public has such lack of confidence in the government, it is unlikely to gain confidence in recovery.

German economy must face up to hard choices in its hour of truth

Wolfgang Münchau says the problems will not be solved simply by cutting rates or altering taxes but by fundamental reforms

If Chancellor Helmut Kohl is to be believed, the "hour of truth" has finally arrived. These are dangerous words. When he said them at the CDU party conference in Düsseldorf last week, he did not mean that he had been lying and was going to stop. He was referring to the need to end procrastination in economic policy. But this has less to do with truth — which in economic terms has been evident for quite some time — than with the ability to face up to it.

Germany and its chancellor are facing hard choices. Yesterday's survey by the German Chamber of Commerce, showing the lowest business confidence in more than 10 years, amounts to the latest sign that the economy is sliding into recession. This is not just a cyclical phenomenon, nor is it a question of macroeconomic policy. The real problems go much deeper. What the "hour of truth" really means is that policy will have to go for the jugular — fundamental structural reforms, reforms in social policy, pensions and, most important, labour markets.

Jürgen Möllemann, the country's liberal economics minister and the left's favourite bogeyman, advocated the need for such reforms. He threatened to enact legislation aimed at allowing east German companies to "opt out" of the social contract, which has been so characteristic of the way German industry has operated for decades. The unions reacted with fury.

They know they have much to lose if they give in too readily. The two essential pillars of German industrial relations have been industry-wide bargaining arrangements, the adoption of which is compulsory for every participant in this industry, and extensive co-determination agreements. It is from those two pillars that the unions draw their power. The system proved successful for the whole of the economy and has resulted in a most desirable labour market mix of high productivity, high wages, and — by G7 standards at least — low unemployment. It is equally clear that the system does not work for eastern Germany. But irrespective of how convincing the government could make an economic case for unions to give up some of these powers, they would never be party to an agreement cutting off their power base. A degree of conflict is therefore inevitable.

It is here that economic reform must start. The following four considerations should be among the most urgent priorities.

□ The eastern German labour mar-



Bread line: east Germany, beset by archaic equipment, suffers from low productivity and low skill levels

ket should be reformed to bring wages into line with productivity. The region is beset with low productivity and low levels of skill in relation to present wage levels. East German wages will soon be higher than even Britain's, especially once west and east German wages are harmonised in 1996. The east German economy needs to grow by an annual 10 per cent for 10 or 20 years in order to catch up with the west. This will not happen if present wage policies are pursued.

East Germany's unemployment rate, estimated at 30 to 40 per cent if hidden forms of unemployment are included, combined with slower than forecast economic growth, may make labour market emergency regulations inevitable in the end. Herr Möllemann's proposal to allow east German companies to opt out of the industry-wide bargaining process and to adopt individual agreements with unions goes in the right direction, but it should be applied with a strict time limit and the opt-out should be subject to strict conditions to prevent abuses of the system.

□ The nonsense of privatising east

German companies in Big Bang manner should be stopped immediately. The establishment of the *Treuhand* privatisation was probably the single biggest mistake in the management of unification. Most damage has already been done. The *Treuhand*'s emphasis should be changed from privatisation to reconstruction, and this is already happening to some extent.

Kohl's task is to restructure an existing economy. Erhard's job was that of a company founder. Kohl's, if he is up to it, is that of a company doctor

□ Even in the west, some of the rationale behind industry-wide regional wage bargaining is disappearing. The present recession has not merely affected different industries with differing ferocity, but also different companies within one industry. The steel industry is one such case. This year's controversial 6.4 per cent wage agreement in the steel industry was acceptable to some companies, while others suffered badly. One of

them was Thyssen, which recently announced vicious cuts in production. The trade unions should recognise, therefore, that the system of determining wages should allow for more flexibility at the level of individual companies. This should not mean an end to industry-wide arrangements. One could still retain an industry-wide framework agreement, specifying not an actual level of wage increases, but a *minimum*, leaving the rest to individual companies.

□ Given the downturn in the present economic cycle and the continued pressures within the economy, unions, employers and the Bundesbank should all contribute to a solution. Unions should accept moderate wage rises of less than 4 per cent in 1993. The Bundesbank should dump its monetarist dogma and proceed with reducing interest rates. This would be perfectly consistent with an anti-inflationary stance. The German economy faces many problems, but a rate of inflation of less than 4 per cent is not one them; the political, social and economic disaster of an eastern German *mezzogiorno* is. The government should

refrain from tax rises, while trying to restrain but not necessarily curb spending.

But the last point should not be exaggerated. Germany's economic problems are not the result of mistakes in macroeconomic policy. Macroeconomic policies therefore cannot be the solution. Chancellor Kohl quite correctly defined the problem as one of a country living beyond its means. It is also the problem of a country not able or willing to adjust to the economic and social shock of unification. This has led to a debt-financed boom and then a bust. But then, the recession would have come eventually, and with it the recognition that Germany can no longer afford the social and labour market policies that a whole generation has taken for granted.

But will Chancellor Kohl succeed in enacting these reforms, having suddenly discovered his "hour of truth"? Probably not, since he is not a man of conflicts but a politician thriving on consensus. But such consensus is not forthcoming, given the deep-rooted differences between the trade unions and the centre-right government, and even within the government itself. There is some talk of a return to the so-called *konzertierte Aktion*, concerted action, whereby the government, unions, and employers meet to agree on common policies. This has been tried before. In the 1960s and early 1970s, but like other efforts aimed at stage-managing an entire economy, the policy eventually broke down in the mid-1970s. The west German economy never responded well to planning, and certainly did not owe its success to committees.

The flight into solutions of the past only highlights the inability to face up to the difficulties. The arrival of such round-table talks is yet another sign that Germany is trying to find the solutions of its present problems in the past. This is a shame. The chancellor's hour of truth cry had a faint and distant ring of the early *Wirtschaftswunder* days in the 1950s, when Ludwig Erhard, then economics minister, forged the present economic structure. But to invoke the ghost of Erhard and the "zero hour" misses the point. Chancellor Kohl's task is to restructure and possibly to redirect an existing economy. Erhard's job was that of a company founder. Kohl's, if he is up to it, is that of a company doctor.

The peculiar point is that the two aspects of German economic reform are in an odd way related. The old West Germany owed its success to Ludwig Erhard's policies, such as the social market economy with its particular labour market structures. The difficulties of today's Germany stem from those very policies and institutions created during the 1950s and 1960s. Is this then a case of dialectics at work? For those who live in east Germany and are not yet convinced about the economic benefits of the capitalist system, it is quite tempting to think that way.

THE TIMES CITY DIARY

History favours Heseltine

SPECULATION that Michael Heseltine may one day become prime minister simply will not die. Introducing the president of the board of trade at an Institute of Fiscal Studies seminar in London yesterday, ex-Maxwell man Peter Jay, the BBC's economics editor, reported the results of some "macro-economic research" he had undertaken. There have been three past presidents of the board of trade since the war who have subsequently become prime minister. Jay told his audience. Winston Churchill had to wait 32 years after becoming president to become prime minister. Harold Wilson took 17 years, while Edward Heath took only seven. "From which it is obvious that the interval is falling by some 50 per cent with each successive president," said Jay. "That makes May 1994 a very interesting date." Heseltine's typically enigmatic response was accompanied by a somewhat strained smile. "The president of the board of trade is a job which I have long coveted," he said. His preference for the title is, perhaps, explained at last.



Heseltine: portents

Move engineered

DEREK Lygo, a specialist engineering salesman at James Capel, and son of Admiral Sir Raymond Lygo, chief executive of British Aerospace until 1989, has resigned from the firm, intent on returning to his earlier career as a fund manager. Lygo junior, also ex-

navy, joined Capel more than five years ago, but before that had worked for Mercury Asset Management as a fund manager. His departure coincides with that of Michael Blogg, ex-Savory Mills engineering analyst, who has been made redundant even though colleagues at James Capel describe him as "solid, reliable and very able". Blogg, it seems, is a casualty of the fall in overall capitalisation of the engineering sector. Worth at least 10 per cent of total stock market capitalisation five years ago, experts calculate that the two key engineering areas, engineering aerospace and engineering metals and metal forms, now make up only two-thirds of one per centage point. According to Mike Geering, head of research at Capel, the firm is, as a consequence, planning to merge its engineering coverage with that of other white goods, at present categorised as electricals, electronics and telephones.

MARK Longden, once a senior generalist equities salesman at James Capel, who went on to cover European derivatives for the firm, has left to join the American house, Lehman Brothers, as executive director and product manager for UK and European equities.

Wager of faith

Easily the strangest bet of the entire American presidential election campaign came at the eleventh hour yesterday when Lawrence Kalleet, a Californian businessman, travelled overnight from San Diego to Ladbroke's betting office in Curzon Street, Mayfair, to place a \$5,000 bet on Ross Perot becoming president. Ladbroke's odds against a Perot victory were 100 to 1, but the betting firm did not seem unduly worried about the chances of paying out half a million dollars. "The odds are the same as on the Liberal Democrats winning the next election," said Paul Austin, Ladbroke's public relations manager. Austin says Kalleet is an avowed Republican who suddenly became enamoured with Perot. "He usually sends \$5,000 to the Republican campaign but Perot doesn't need the money so he's supporting him this way instead." Thanks to his overnight flight, Kalleet was unable to vote for Perot but was planning to watch the election result last night on television in London. Clearly feeling guilty, Ladbroke booked him into the Hilton and supplied him with champagne to ease his loss.

CAROL LEONARD

Unanswered question over Dan-Air

From Mrs Sheila Vince

Sir, I am (or was) a shareholder in Davies & Newman. Reading between the lines of the correspondence in your columns, and of Mr David James' statement in his "Dear Shareholder" letter that "the transaction with BA will, as with a receiver, provide no benefits for shareholders," it seems to me that without the shareholders' invested capital the deal with BA could not have gone ahead. It is shareholders' money that is financing, at least in part, "the

continued employment of hundreds of (Dan-Air) staff and... the better redundancy terms which will apply for those staff who will not remain employed."

That's fine, but at least one question remains unanswered. We are still referred to as shareholders, not ex-shareholders. Does this mean that we are now shareholders in BA?

Yours faithfully, SHEILA VINCE, 42 Kenilworth Road, Coventry.

Late payment and tax contribute to small firms' bankruptcies

From H.D. Berman

Sir, Many small businesses would have been saved from bankruptcy if big companies and government departments had paid for goods and services on the dates on which payment was due. Chairman of such bills which their companies had paid on or before the due dates, such a request from the government could not be ignored.

Exchequer and audit should take similar action.

The government should instruct customs and excise Vat collectors to be kind to small businesses: their job is to collect Vat for the government and dead businesses pay no Vat.

Yours faithfully, H.D. BERMAN, Flat 2, Sunridge, 14 Dittons Road, Eastbourne, East Sussex.

Sir, Is there not a case for Vat relief for loss-making businesses?

To have to pay away 17 1/2 per cent on turnover must surely add enormously to the huge number of recent bankruptcies.

Yours faithfully, P.A.D. DOLE-THOMAS, Elm Lodge, The Avenue, Taunton, Somerset.

Bucking at implementation of the Taurus share system

From G.B. Miller

Sir, Sir Andrew Hugh Smith's defence of Taurus (October 22) gives rise to many questions in my mind.

Why, for example, are the brokers and banks pressing for the individual investor to move his shareholding into nominees?

He states quite clearly that the nominee is seen as the legal shareholder and therefore is able to move the shares about as he sees fit. The investor has no legal redress.

With the present flood of fraud and bankruptcy I would certainly NOT recommend this to the individual shareholder.

We are all aware that shares are "borrowed" from time to time in order to balance the broker's books, and the fact that a broker is legally responsible for reinstating the holding if he has moved it about and is found out is hardly reassuring, given that the shareholder might not know about it for a year.

Taurus in fact allows the broker to gamble with your shares without your ever knowing about it. Taurus itself

has protection against the computer "hacker", but every broker is in effect able to "hack" into any of his clients' accounts.

Sir Andrew says that holding the share certificate is not a guarantee of ownership, but it is at least prima facie evidence that you are the owner, and the purchase note is proof that it was bought. What proof do you have if the transaction has not been passed through Taurus?

Nothing said by Sir Andrew justifies his statement that "it will bring better legal protection, enhanced protection..."

As an investor, I shall dispose of every shareholding in every company that requires that my investment be done via Taurus.

Yours faithfully, G.B. MILLER, 68 Adisham Green, Church Milton, Sittingbourne, Kent.

From Mrs Diana Allen

Sir, My understanding of Taurus is that the companies will not recognise the ownership rights of individual share-

holders, who will no longer be able to control the transfer of their holdings by written authority or the production of a certificate.

Instead, therefore, of a wide-based portfolio of investments, the investor has to put all his eggs into one basket, and hold one global investment in the firm of stockbrokers which holds his information on computer.

In the event, therefore, of default for any reason by that firm, he is left with only a bundle of rights against a compensatory body, not knowing whether his claims will be met in full, possibly after enduring years of delay, and dependent on his providing evidence which he may well find difficult.

In the face of these risks, is it not likely that many investors may look for alternative havens for their savings? Tenant-occupied property for instance, or other assets under more personal control.

Yours faithfully, DIANA ALLEN, 43 Halsey Street, London, SW3.

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Application has been made to the London Stock Exchange for the whole of the issued share capital of Pharmigan Holdings PLC (the "Company") to be admitted to the Official List.

PTARMIGAN HOLDINGS PLC (Incorporated and registered in England No. 29736)

INTRODUCTION TO THE OFFICIAL LIST

| Share Capital | | Issued and fully paid | |
|---------------|------------|---|---------------|
| Authorised | Number | Ordinary Shares of 12.5p each | £ number |
| 9,000,000 | 72,000,000 | 1,834,371 | 14,674,968 |
| 12,500 | 20,000 | 3 1/2 per cent, non voting cumulative preference shares of 82.5p each | 12,500 20,000 |

Following completion of the proposed acquisition of Airmech Engineering (U.K.) Limited, H.A. Birch & Company Limited and Thomas Eaves Limited, the Company and its subsidiaries will be engaged in the following activities: the manufacture of specialist teststers, heating elements and rotary inspection tables, the supply of food and food-related products and the operation of hotels.

Copies of the Listing Particulars relating to the above may be obtained during normal business hours from the Companies Announcements Office of the London Stock Exchange, Stock Exchange Tower, Capel Court Entrance, off Bartholomew Lane, London EC2, by collection only, up to and including the second business day after the date of this notice.

Listing Particulars of the Issuer will also be included in the Companies Fiches Service available from Exel Financial Ltd., 37-45 Paul Street, London EC2A 4PB and copies may be obtained during usual business hours on any weekday (Sundays and public holidays excepted) up to and including 17th November, 1992 from:-

Chemical Bank, The Adelphi, 1-11 John Adam Street, London WC2N 6HT

and at the registered office of Pharmigan Holdings PLC at 50 Stratton Street, London W1X 5PL. 4th November, 1992

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| FT-SE VOLUMES | | | | | | | | | |
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| Abbey Land 3,400 | Carlton Com 411 | Land Secs 2,600 | Sot Hydro 1,300 | New York (midday): | DO Jones | 3266.26 (+4.05) | FTSE Euro 100: 1038.76 (+5.94) | LONDON FUTURE INDEXES | |
| AdLib-Lyons 1,300 | Cash Vtly 990 | Legal & Gen 1,400 | Sot & New 737 | TSX Composite: | 422.16 (+0.59) | | Brussels | Period | |
| Anglian W 1,700 | Cin Union 780 | Lloyds Bk 4,000 | Sot Power 2,100 | Tokyo: | | | General | Open | High |
| Anglo GP 3,100 | Credit 1,300 | NBS Credit 1,200 | Sot Power 2,100 | S&P 500: | | | Paris CAC | Close | Volume |
| Anglo W 1,700 | De La Rue 915 | Marl Spars 500 | Sot Power 2,100 | Nikkei Ave: | Closed | | Zurich: S&K Gen | Mar 93 | Mar 93 |
| Asi Foods 209 | Ent Chn 3,400 | NFC | 614 | Hang Kong: | | | London: | Dec 92 | 2733.0 |
| BAA 841 | Entrop Oil 1,700 | Narvisk Bk 4,000 | Slebe | Hang Seng: | 6197.44 (+33.73) | | FT A&Sshare: | Mar 93 | 2743.0 |
| BAT Inds 2,300 | Fisons 1,700 | Nat Power 5,000 | Suiki Bch 2,800 | Amsterdam: | | | FT 500: | Dec 92 | 93.42 |
| B&W 1,700 | G&S 1,700 | NBS W 375 | Suiki Bch 2,800 | CBS Tendency: | 103.1 (+1.0) | | FT Gold Mines: | Mar 93 | 93.42 |
| B&W 1,700 | G&S 1,700 | NBS W 375 | Suiki Bch 2,800 | Sydney: AO | 1412.8 (+2.7) | | FT Fixed Interest: | Dec 92 | 91.54 |
| B&W 1,700 | G&S 1,700 | NBS W 375 | Suiki Bch 2,800 | Sydney: DAX | 1485.00 (+1.43) | | FT Gen Secs: | Mar 93 | 92.45 |
| B&W 1,700 | G&S 1,700 | NBS W 375 | Suiki Bch 2,800 | Frankfurt: | | | Baryline | Dec 92 | 102.10 |
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Selina Scott says she is tired of being mugged by the media, and has finally decided to strike back

What a load of old humbug

Only two days before the American presidential election and three before the most important Commons vote, arguably, this session, one might have expected *The Sunday Telegraph's* profile column to have had weightier matters to consider than the earnings of an obscure television presenter. But no — we now have the shape of Charles Moore's brave, new vision for *The Sunday Telegraph*.

"Right, chaps. What we need is a good old-fashioned investigative piece, like why do they pay Selina Scott so much? All we have to do is to stick a colour shot of her mug on the front page and bill it as 'Secrets of Selina: she really worth all that money?'." And so it came to pass.

As the subject of last Sunday's profile and assorted banner headlines in the tabloids earlier in the week, I felt that familiar mixture of nausea and weariness brought on by so many similar stories over too many years.

It is not that the articles are invariably hostile, it is that the content is so dreadfully time-worn, the same ragbag of misconceptions, inaccuracies and humbug, dredged from the cuttings, dusted down and presented to yet another TV generation as ultimate truth.

Sad experience, and the further derision that was heaped on the likes of Sue Lawley and Julia Somerville when they dared to question

their press critics, suggests that the sensible course when mugged by the media is to keep mum and carry on.

But you don't win that way either, do you? For if you don't respond, that lends credence to what is written. It must be true — she hasn't denied it. And so another falsehood joins the list of lies in the growing piles of cuttings, yellowing in newspaper archives. And another small piece of your self-esteem crumbles away as yet another uncorrected lie props up the case against you.

I decided to write this article after *The Times* invited me to do an interview. Instead, I offered to write a piece, correcting at least some of the inaccuracies about my earning power and alleged incompetence that seem now to have become accepted truths. I seek no new dawn in press perceptions. The best I can hope for is that the next cuttings job will at least scale down my reputed income and keep the Inland Revenue off my case.

For the record, then, people in television are paid far too much. But what is true about television people is also true about stockbrokers and lawyers, about sportsmen and insurance salesman. It is especially true about MPs and newspaper editors.

Not unreasonably I maintain that I did not invent the television wage structure, and with the proliferation of channels, wages for on-screen "talent", if anything, will increase.



Keep smiling: Selina Scott is weary of "the misconceptions and inaccuracies"

I would surely be some kind of simpleton if I chose to deny the broadcasters' valuation of my earning capacity.

But since my salary seems to cause so much angst in press circles (another grossly over-rewarded bunch) let me officially and publicly deny claims that I earn £200,000 a year from BSkyB. What I actually earn rests between my employ-

ers and myself, but I get the rate for the job. Presumably Sky believes it is getting value for money since it has recently negotiated a renewal of my contract.

Let me officially deny that I am to be paid £100,000 by the BBC to present the new series of *Entertainment Express*. I have signed for an initial run of 13 programmes at approx-

mately the same rate I was paid for *The Clothes Show*.

Without any sense of justifying myself or what I earn, and certainly with no element of whingeing because I happen to believe I have been extraordinarily lucky, I would simply place on record that like many other single working women, I have absolutely no job security. My future depends entirely on

my ability to earn an income. I work short-term contracts for a variety of employers in what is generally regarded as a buyers' market.

I have no company insurance or sickness benefit. If I am ill I am not paid. I have no company pension and no company car. I choose to have no husband, and thus have no cushion of a second income to fall back on. I have no complaint about the foregoing.

Better minds than mine have tried to analyse the qualities that go into making a television performer. Wherein lies my talent? All I do, apparently, is read an autocue. All? Somebody ought to tell Clive James how easy reading autocue is! Television, as many of the print hacks who have tried it can testify, is harder than it looks. I have had my share of disasters. Name me a presenter who hasn't. My weaknesses have been well catalogued and there is no shortage of critics wishing to remind me about them.

For me the reality of being a television "star" is leaving home at 6.30 tonight after a long day's filming, en route for a four-hour stint anchoring *Sky News Tomorrow*. Sometimes similar. And the one after that. But — hey — who's complaining? Being a television "celebrity" beats the hell out of being a fish-gutted in Aberdeen or on the game in Huddersfield, or for that matter, being a profile writer on *The Sunday Telegraph*.

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by high-minded Quakers [obviously, the Cadburys] with low opinions of their fellow proprietors."

At the conclusion of the book are some interesting points-of-reference including a list of women editors of national newspapers, more than half have been appointed since Wendy Henry took over at the *News of the World* in 1987 but no one has yet attempted to rival the record of Rachel Beer who edited *The Sunday Times* and *The Observer* around the turn of the century.

CHARLES WINTOUR

Living by the vision

Channel 4 will have to fight to maintain its innovative edge

Channel 4 is the Peter Pan of British television. If it is to stay alive, it must never grow up, but its successful decade has made it prey to the British trick of laming rebels by welcoming them into the establishment.

Despite its success, the channel's future is insecure: it faces increasing competition for viewers. It must now pay its way while adhering to its remit to innovate, and cater for audiences not served by existing channels. But BBC2 has followed up so many of its ideas that Channel 4's job becomes still harder.

The channel's future depends on two factors: first, programme makers must deliver work that is innovative and yet saleable to advertisers. Second, advertisers must redefine what is valuable on screen.

The trap for the channel and its programme-makers is the Faustian bargain in which advertisers' values dominate investment. But with money scarce, this seems inescapable.

Advertisers are not interested in programmes — only audiences, predictable ones of the kind delivered by American sitcoms and ITV repeats such as *Inspector Morse*. These are so effective on Channel 4 at attracting elusive younger up-market males while holding older viewers that, as an adman put it, "a logician must ask why the channel bothers making programmes of its own" now that it is a commercial venture. Admen see the remit as an obstacle "hugging" the evening schedule with programmes "of interest only to one-legged Somalians fond of Italian cooking", as one of them put it.

This trendy put-down undervalues minority audiences larger than the readership of two broadsheet

newspapers. And it ignores the glorious paradox of Channel 4, a non-profit yet commercial institution ordered by law to be special.

Channel 4's innovations have become today's norms — new sports, sexual frankness, original films, alternative comedy. Experiments seen by small audiences on *Eleventh Hour* and *Alter Image* are now on BBC2 and even ITV in surrealistic commercials. As other channels play safe, Channel 4's remit to surprise keeps the mainstream alive.

The larger issue remains, what is Channel 4 for? Its remit can be seen as a formula for commercial suicide, or as the basis for inspiration, risk, strangeness, a chance for the world's creative people to surprise wider audiences, and brave journalists no other channel dares touch — genuine public service broadcasting cross-subsidised by more conventional fare.

Good programme-making does not happen under economic pressure. That leads creative people to censor themselves, hoping to second-guess the market's taste, which inevitably leads to imitation, not originality. "Value for money" is no measure of the freshness or quality of programmes. It is certainly not a *raison d'être* for a distinctive service.

Michael Grade, Channel 4's chief executive, recently suggested that the BBC keeps the rest of British television honest. True, but it looks increasingly that the mantle of inspiration has passed to Channel 4. In these worrying times, broadcasters to whom the channel has been a model hope it can sustain that role.

ROGER GRAEF
© The author was a founding director of Channel 4

Just give us the hard facts

An encyclopaedia of 570 years of the press is about to hit the stands

writers — mainly of career advancement but with an occasional kindly note, together with brief histories of the principal national and provincial titles. Some idea of the range of people involved is given by four successive entries in the middle of the book: Marx, Karl (1818-83) German philosopher/author (40 lines); Maschler, Fay (b.1945)

Restaurant critic *Evening Standard* (nine lines); Masfield, John Edward OM (1878-1967) Poet Laureate/journalist (14 lines); Massey, W. T. (1860-1947) News editor (seven lines). It has the distinction of being the only work of reference, so far as I know, in which Randolph Churchill gets three times the amount of attention given to

his distinguished father, but it is none the worse for that.

The book opens with six linked essays on the history of the press, concluding with a typically rumbustious and stimulating essay on the post-war press in Britain by Louis Heren, a former deputy editor of *The Times*. "Britain has had its fair share [of megalomaniac press barons]", he writes.

"Little can be said in their favour, except that they did little harm and the more successful were brilliant journalists. They created great newspapers, if only during their lifetime. Their sons were rarely similarly inspired [he must be thinking of Lord Beaverbrook and Sir Max Aitken], and it is interesting to note that the first post-war failure... was owned

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It is intended to hold preliminary interviews during December with final interviews to take place during week commencing 4th January 1993.

Please telephone or write for an application form (quote appropriate ref.) to Personnel Department, BBC East, All Saints Green, Norwich NR1 3ND. Tel Norwich (0603) 284385 (24 hours).

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POP page 30
Cliff Richard is hanging
on in there with
memories of three
decades at the top

ARTS

TELEVISION page 31

Serena Gordon brings
glamour to the role of
Birmingham solicitor
Kinsey's new partner



GALLERIES: Peter Lewis surveys the multifarious skills of Tom Phillips. Plus: St Jerome, the Renaissance pin-up?

Licence to imagine, with no endorsements

The hardest thing to faith-om about the multi-faceted Tom Phillips is where he fits into the art world. As if to demonstrate this, his work is about to be aired in four London venues almost simultaneously: a painting retrospective at the Royal Academy, his books and designs at the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, his music at the Institute of Contemporary Arts, and his photography during a special slide lecture at the Tate Gallery.

Even this feat of multiple exposure does not cover all his output. His portraits — of such sitters as Dame Iris Murdoch and Samuel Beckett — were shown at the National Portrait Gallery three years ago; and his illustrated verse translation of Dante's *Inferno* was filmed, with Peter Greenaway, and televised in 1990. He seems to be three or more artists rolled into one.

Phillips is eager to explain how his multifarious works have come about. The reasons are self-evident to him, if somewhat surprising to others. He is well aware that while his work, based as it is so emphatically on words, is cherished by a coterie, it is dismissed by many critics. "A lot of reviewers say 'rubbish' to what I do — even before I put it up," he says. "Sometimes I think only American loonies like my work. All artists feel unappreciated, so I'm not complaining."

The two very large works exhibited in the RA's Sackler Galleries (he is the first living Academician to be shown there) are both "walls". The first, 20 feet square, was derived from a postcard which showed the interior of the Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield, in about 1910. Neither the main wall nor the pictures on it are still to be seen, except for the portrait of the gallery's benefactor, Mr Mappin of Mappin and Webb.

Phillips has reconstructed the wall, repainting the pictures from their ghostly images on the postcard and printing similar wallpaper for them to hang on. The point was to recreate the wall, not as it was, but as the photograph made it look. "I tried to be as faithful as I could to the accidents and imperfections of the photograph, its vagueness and the reflections in the glass. Because it was a bad and inadequate photograph, it gave me

scope for my imagination." For some years nearly all his work was inspired by postcards of the ordinary, old-fashioned kind.

Conjectured Pictures, as it is called, may seem a rather large monument to raise to a postcard, but what of *Rima's Wall*, 30 feet long and covered with bold but insubstantial graphic patterns? "I was reading an obscure novel in which a group of people discover a cave in which one wall is covered in primitive, urgent but unreadable signs. I decided to realise it from the novelist's description." This took him six months.

"All I need," he explains, "is a licence to imagine." He translated Dante's *Inferno* "in order to own it, to give me a licence to illustrate it". In the past seven years he has

enough to do it. Who is going to buy them? Nobody."

Phillips is a man who places great store by habit. Every day he lunches at local workmen's cafes in a fixed sequence; every Saturday, for over 20 years, he has collected the leftover paint in the controlled chaos of his studio, mixed it together and used it. The result is an ever-growing series of vertical strips of canvas painted with X-strokes which he calls "Terminal Greys". Grey, the usual result of mixing many colours together, produces a surprisingly large range of shades and contrasts when one week's grey is placed against the next: he calls them "dross transmuted into gold".

An all-pervasive presence in his work is the Victorian novel which he found on a second-hand bookstall about 25 years ago: *A Human Document* by W.H. Mallock, published in 1892. "I chose it because it was the first book of continuous narrative that I could find for three pence. I have been using it ever since, whenever I need a text. I have never read it through consecutively but I don't suppose it is a very good book."

His first experiment was to "treat" the book by isolating words or parts of words on each page to tell a different "story" and to cover the rest of the pages up with paintings and designs. Such words of the original as survive on their islands of white paper deliver dreamlike messages — "Art in the street covered deep with pictures vivified", for instance. *A Human Document* was telescoped into a new title, *A Humument*, and it became a cult book (or art object) when it was published in 1980. In each edition he substitutes dozens of new pages.

The book was also the source of an opera named, after one of the characters, *Irma*. Parts of it are to be performed at the concert of the music at the ICA on Sunday, given by the Composers' Ensemble with Phillips singing the part of the narrator.

A pair of ornamental globes he has made have been purchased by the National Art Library and are the focus of a display at the Victoria and Albert Museum of his notebooks, sketchbooks, drawings and miscellanea. The globes, an imaginary earth and imaginary heavens, are annotated with names and



Conjectured Pictures, Phillips's 1972 painting, inspired by a postcard of a wall at the Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield, circa 1910

words drawn, needless to say, from *A Humument*. The title of the display is "A Quest For Identity". This refers to another Phillips enterprise, a set of albums in which he has mounted the envelopes addressed to him under various titles: "His Excellency Mr Phillips", "The Export Distribution Manager", "The Occupier (Disconnected Meter)" and "The Pizza Eater".

One of the games he plays has been to collect these over 20 years. Can it possibly be of serious interest? He has an unexpected rationale to offer: "To me they show the fragility of one's identity as a human being. We are only who we are in other people's eyes."

"Looking at these envelopes I feel that I am barely there. By bothering to collect these things, an artist shows how it is for everybody." Another collecting project is to

photograph, annually, 20 sites within a half-mile radius of his home in south London, an area of special significance for him. He was born there 55 years ago, studied there at Camberwell School of Art, and has always lived within half a dozen miles of his present house in Peckham.

"I have been taking these photographs for 20 years, always on the same day," Phillips says. "It was meant to be boring, a recording job, but it amazes me what changes one sees already, in the people and the traffic. It has turned out to be interesting beyond my wildest expectations." He is giving one of his biennial showings and lectures on them, "Twenty Sites N Years", at the Tate on December 2.

What do these obsessive and multifarious activities actually amount to? His answer is that they amount to being an artist, as he expounds in a massively illustrated

new book: *Tom Phillips — Works and Texts*. His message seems to be that anyone can be an artist.

"Being an artist is finding the world exciting, interesting and fun — or funny," he says. "Most people don't bother to look at the world. I don't think painters see it in a special or better way than anyone else but they think differently about what they see. My art grows out of the things I stumble on. I assume that life is going to put things in my way. If you believe life is interesting, it rewards you — but you have got to be attentive and on duty. I am on duty night and day."

In his final *Curriculum Vitae*, "A Song of Myself", he talks of himself as "a savor of scrapings, custodian of dust, for ever recycling... builder of images from bricks long laid down." Does he never feel an urge to take a virgin canvas and create something that did not exist — as book, artwork, postcard or found

material — before? His answer is "No". "It's a form of cowardice, probably. Whatever I make, I seek an alibi, an excuse for its existence. In the same way as a sinner is an excuse for a portrait. But we don't blame Joshua Reynolds for that."

● **Tom Phillips: Major Works 1970-1992**, Royal Academy of Arts, Piccadilly, W1 (071-439 7438), from tomorrow to December 20, daily. Then the exhibition will go on tour.

● **The Quest for Identity**, National Art Library, at Victoria and Albert Museum, SW7 (071-938 8500), daily until January 8.

● **Music by Tom Phillips** at the Institute of Contemporary Arts, Nash House, The Mall, SW1 (071-930 3647) on Sunday, 8pm.

● **20 Sites N Years**, Public lecture at the Tate Gallery, Millbank, SW1 (071-821 1313), December 2, 6.30pm.

● **Tom Phillips: Works and Texts**, published by Thames and Hudson, £25.

Renaissance role model

Richard Cork on an exhibition exploring artists' fascination with a saintly penitent

Why did St Jerome become one of the most popular figures in Renaissance painting? He was neither a charismatic performer of miracles, nor a heroic martyr who sacrificed himself for his beliefs. But as the National Gallery's absorbing "Themes and Variations" exhibition discloses, this scholarly man lent himself to an infinity of different interpretations. At Trafalgar Square alone there are 30 paintings of him, and the images selected for this survey reveal just how versatile the "Jerome" persona could be.

Some of the most familiar pictures present him as a serene and pedagogic figure, absorbed in his studies. Antonello da Messina's celebrated little painting encloses him in the coolness of a monastic interior, where gothic vaulting soars above the extraordinarily elaborate shelves structure housing the saint's bookshelves, desk and chair. Through a window, the pleasures of a jewel-like landscape beckon and minuscule people relish a boat-trip on the river. But Jerome, seen in stern profile, keeps his eyes trained firmly on the manuscript he clasps.

To a certain extent, the donnish image is historically justified. Jerome's main achievement lies in his pioneering translation of the Bible into Latin, producing the standard Vulgate text used for centuries by the Catholics. He became known as a wise old Father of the Church, a long-bearded theologian so wedded to learning that he insists, in Crivelli's great altar-piece, on carrying the weight of two wrist-breaking tomes as well as a hefty model of a light-emitting church.

But this multi-faceted man cannot be limited to a single role for long. Even Crivelli devotes a predella panel of his altarpiece to a very different Jerome, bare-chested in the Syrian desert and beating himself with a rock. As a young man in the fourth century AD he had entered the Roman imperial civil service. After dreaming that he was scourged by angels for preferring pagan books to the Gospels, Jerome suffered a crisis so severe that he retired to the desert and gave himself up to unremitting penitence. Hence the abundance of pictures showing the saint assailing his own half-naked body.

As befits a sensuous Venetian, Cima underplays the violence in his beguiling little panel. Although Jerome kneels on the stony ground as he talks to himself and stares up at a nearby crucifix, the rock held in his hand does not seem to be aimed at his own flesh. He could even be preparing to throw it like a harmless ball, and nothing disturbs the sunlit somnolence of a landscape where the inevitable lion sprawls contentedly under a most undesirable expanse of green foliage.

Cosima Tura presents a tougher alternative. His newly restored painting is a formidable affair, following Mantegna in an ability to make the human body as flinty as the mountainous scene Jerome inhabits. The rock is now thrust up high in the air by a man so intent on hurting himself that blood already streams down freely from his lacerated chest. While an owl stares down in astonishment, the remorseful saint prepares to hit his sinful body with the same harsh-



Detail from *Saint Jerome in a Landscape*, by Cima, painted between 1492 and 1516

ness that Tura shows as he scores Jerome's cheek with sharp-lined hatching and makes his jutting beard as pointed as a dagger.

But even Tura looks detached when compared with the greatest painting on view: George de La Tour's *St Jerome in Penitence*, on loan from the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm. Unlike every other artist in the exhibition, La Tour insists

on seeing the saint as an utterly unidealised human being. He does nothing to disguise the old man's furrowed, sagging flesh and painfully swollen feet.

This is a figure approaching the end of his life, and yet he remains determined to inflict further suffering on his frail body. His isolation in the encircling darkness is intense. But La Tour throws sufficient

light on the old saint's figure to define the poised dignity of his limbs. Despite the humiliation he has so bravely undergone, this most persuasive of all images of Jerome remains unbroken in body and spirit alike.

● **Themes and Variations: St Jerome**, at the National Gallery, Trafalgar Square, WC2 (071-839 3321) until Dec 13.

First, take your seats, then take them home

GERMAN film director Edgar Reitz is not only bringing his 26-hour film *Die Zweite Heimat* to the London Film Festival this week. Mindful perhaps of the constricting seats at the Museum of the Museum Image cinema, where the epic will unfold over the next two weekends, he is also bringing special *Heimat* cushions for audiences to use. Those who stay the course will receive a special prize: they can keep the cushion. The film, seven years in the making, follows the fortunes of Hermann, the young musician of the last *Heimat* episodes, and his bohemian friends of the Sixties. Among other endurance records broken by this film, there are said to be 15,548 English subtitles.

● **BON JOVI**, in London to promote their new album *Keep The Faith*, have adopted an eccentric method of publicising a concert. The gig will be in central London tonight — but the exact location will be revealed on the Simon Bates Show on Radio One this morning, and tickets will then go on sale to personal callers at the venue's box office only. Whether the Bates show is the natural place to reach their fans is a matter for conjecture. However, two shows have been announced for Wembley Arena (081-900 1234) on May 14 and 15, 1993. Bon Jovi's last album, *New Jersey*, sold ten million copies, and the group has not performed here since 1989.

Siberian score

THE millionaire publisher and spare-time Mahler conductor Gilbert Kaplan has pulled off a minor Mahlerian coup. He has discovered and photographed Mahler's personal score of Beethoven's *Eroica Symphony* — in Siberia. Kaplan came across the score, heavily annotated with Mahler's conductor's markings and retouchings, while he was in Novosibirsk to fulfil a conducting engagement. Mahler may have left

ARTS BRIEFING

it in Russia in 1902, when he conducted the work in St Petersburg while on honeymoon. It is part of a collection that was acquired in St Petersburg and has been owned by the same family for 50 years. Kaplan, in London to conduct Mahler's Second at the Festival Hall next Monday, comments: "Many strange things have happened to me in connection with Mahler's music, but to stumble across this rare score of Mahler's in the middle of Siberia is most surreal."

● **TONIGHT** the ballet-loving Princess of Wales will attend a gala performance by the Scottish Ballet in Seoul. The British Council invited the Glasgow-based company to perform before the Prince and Princess of Wales, who are on an official royal visit to South Korea. The performance will feature principal dancers Linda Parker and Robert Hampton in Peter Wright's production of *Coppélia*.

Last chance...

JONATHAN MILLER's straightforward, narrative-friendly production of Don Giovanni has done sterling service at English National Opera, having been revived regularly since it was new seven years ago. Not the least of its attractions is Philip Prowse's darskome but glittering set. The latest revival boasts the mercurial Peter Coleman-Wright in the title role, his double-act with Arwel Huw Morgan's seedy and opportunistic Leporello honed to well-oiled perfection. Jane Eaglen and Glenn Winslade sing Anna and Ottavio, and the conductor is Andrew Greenwood. The final performance is at the Coliseum (071-836 3161) tomorrow.

LONDON

AN IDEAL HUSBAND: Hannah Gordon, Anna Carter and Martin Shaw head a starry cast in Peter Hall's production of Wilde's society drama, should a politician resign when the curtain falls of his past are discovered? Globe, Shaftesbury Avenue, W1 (071-484 5045) Preview on tonight, 7.45pm, opens Nov 11, 7pm.

THE WEDFORD TRILOGY: A revival of Billy Roche's celebrated chronicles of small town life opens with *A Handful of Stars*, a young couple's love in the pool hall. *For the Love of the Game* and *Becky's Story* follow. Bush, Shaftesbury Avenue, W1 (071-484 5045) Preview on tonight, 7.45pm, opens Nov 11, 7pm.

THE MAGIC FLUTE: Nicholas Hytner's lush and stylish English National Opera production elegantly designed by Bob Crowley is revived by John Abalos, with a cast that includes Alan Oate (Papageno) and Gillian Wearing (Papagena). Near Chichester (Theatre), 100, Shaftesbury Avenue, W1 (071-484 5045) Preview on tonight, 7.45pm, opens Nov 11, 7pm.

THE HALLS: The Manchester-based company under Rudolf Barshai. Southampton's *Wendell* (with high Octavian) is followed by *Haydn's March No. 3*, for the Prince of Wales, and

TODAY'S EVENTS

A daily guide to arts and entertainment compiled by Karl Knight

Ravel's orchestration of Mussorgsky's *Pictures from an Exhibition* (Barbican Hall, St. Cross, EC2 071-636 9801), 7.30pm.

REGIONAL

ASPERIDGE: Championed by Wynon Marshall, the young rumpster Roy Hargrove recently had the honour of playing alongside the great Sonny Rollins at Carnegie Hall. He is joined here by the same light band that featured on his latest album, *The Vibe* (Wendell, 100, Shaftesbury Avenue, W1 (071-484 5045) Preview on tonight, 7.45pm, opens Nov 11, 7pm.

GLASGOW: The production of *Amie* (Theatre, 100, Shaftesbury Avenue, W1 (071-484 5045) Preview on tonight, 7.45pm, opens Nov 11, 7pm).

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THEATRE GUIDE

Jeremy Kingston's assessment of theatre showing in London

House full, returns only once more available. Seats at all prices.

MAKING IT BETTER: Lust, treachery and ambition revealed as an English couple harbour two Czechoslovakian spies. Asher heads an exceptional cast in James Saunders' intelligent play (Theatre, 100, Shaftesbury Avenue, W1 (071-484 5045) Preview on tonight, 7.45pm, opens Nov 11, 7pm).

MURDER BY MISADVENTURE: General Harper and William Gault play crime writers who fall out and get their wits against each other: run-of-the-mill thriller. Whitehall, SW1 (071-667 1118) Mon-Fri, 8pm, Sat, 8.30pm, mat, 5.30pm, Sun, 3pm, Sat, 5.30pm, Sun, 3pm.

PHILADELPHIA, HERE I COME! Brian Friel's sophisticated comedy of an Irish emigrant and his coming into America. Wyndham's, Charing Cross Road, W1 (071-484 5045) Preview on tonight, 7.45pm, opens Nov 11, 7pm.

PIGMALEON: Alan Howard, Frances Barber in a Howard Davies production. The story of a man who tries to become a woman. Theatres, 100, Shaftesbury Avenue, W1 (071-484 5045) Preview on tonight, 7.45pm, opens Nov 11, 7pm.

RADIO TIMES: Roy Sherry in a fun trip down memory lane, set in the 1950s. Theatres, 100, Shaftesbury Avenue, W1 (071-484 5045) Preview on tonight, 7.45pm, opens Nov 11, 7pm.

THE HOUSE OF BERNARDA ALBA: The Agnès de Sorel production. The story of a woman who becomes a queen. Theatres, 100, Shaftesbury Avenue, W1 (071-484 5045) Preview on tonight, 7.45pm, opens Nov 11, 7pm.

IT RUNS IN THE FAMILY: Lark in the hospital common room, matriarch outwits doctors, humiliated Roy. Country lane with lots of laughs. Theatres, 100, Shaftesbury Avenue, W1 (071-484 5045) Preview on tonight, 7.45pm, opens Nov 11, 7pm.

JUNE MOON: New songwriters. The story of a woman who becomes a queen. Theatres, 100, Shaftesbury Avenue, W1 (071-484 5045) Preview on tonight, 7.45pm, opens Nov 11, 7pm.

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CINEMA GUIDE

Geoff Brown's assessment of films in London and where to see them (with the symbol # on release after the country)

BOOMERANG (15): Posing Madison Avenue. Lofano gets his vengeance. Delia, Eddie Murphy vehicle. With Robin Givens, Halle Berry, director, Reginald Hudon. MGM Baker Street (071-484 5045) Preview on tonight, 7.45pm, opens Nov 11, 7pm.

THE CRYING GAME (18): IRA gunman becomes obsessed with a woman's girlfriend. Bold, powerful Neil Jordan film that takes a new look at the IRA. With Stephen Rea, Forest Whitaker, Jaye Davidson, Miranda Richardson. Candescent Plaza (071-484 5045) Preview on tonight, 7.45pm, opens Nov 11, 7pm.

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POP: Caroline Sullivan marvels at the vigour of the ever-youthful Cliff Richard

Keeping up with the young ones

Cliff Richard
Wembley Arena

CLIFF Richard likes to convey the impression that he is just a gritty rock 'n' roller at heart. Circumstance forces him to play Wembley Arena, he implies he would much rather be in a proper, sticky-floored rock club.

However, singular fame has its advantages. For one thing, if a pop singer ever ends up on a British postage stamp, it will probably be him. For another, he can colonise huge auditoriums for weeks on end. He began 15 shows at Wembley on Monday.

Richard's record there is 18 nights. The length of his current residency might be a consequence of his having somehow become 53 years old. Instead, the tour programme revealed the beginnings of wrinkles on the adolescent brow. These, however, were the only signs that the star is subject to any normal biological processes. He glided through a two-and-a-half-hour set with no sign of fatigue. Video close-ups indicated that he was not even sweating. Someone should inform the British Medical Association.

The performance was divided in half, the first devoted to a romp through the early material. The singer bounced on wearing a black bolero suit and a guitar and, more loudly than one might have expected, strummed into "Move It". That ancient hit was succeeded by "Living Doll", "The Young Ones" and others from Cliff's threat-to-decay period. At this remove, they sounded more torpid than torrid, but Richard's vim was most engaging.

The second part covered the Seventies through to the present. It com-

enced with a symphonic fanfare and a computerised lighting trick that appeared to have Richard in mid-air against a star-sprinkled backdrop. The effect was repeated later, with Cliff striding through some clouds as he sang "Miss You Nights".

Richard has perpetrated some pretty bathetic ballads in his time, and they all got an airing. "From a Distance" was followed by "Some People" and, yes, a new one, "Love is the Strongest Emotion". The last named was surprisingly gooey. Thankfully, the sugar content was leavened by a spirited version of "Willie and the Hand Jive" and "Devil Woman". A new tune, "Little Miss Treater", was a jolly and likeable essay at Stax-type funk. The singer was ably supported by a six-piece band and by four backing vocalists, whose lush tones recalled Elvis Presley's Jordanaires.

Entertaining as the show was, two and a half hours of concerted sleek entertainment were still two and a half hours. Things could have got tiresome. That they did not was due to Richard's genius for crowd management. He prefaced each song with a wry anecdote, and although he had probably said the same thing the night before, you warmed to his manner. He joked winningly at his own expense: "There are people trying to sleep in here," he observed. Richard's easy slickness suggests that a future in politics awaits, should singing ever pall.



Cliff Richard: wrinkles on the adolescent brow, but no sign of fatigue

BLUES: The 'first lady' lives up to her reputation

High and mighty soul

Etta James
Town and Country

THE renewal of interest among American and British audiences in indigenous music forms has created the climate for a late flowering by the veteran James, a blues-soul singer whose career now spans four decades. Bonnie Raitt hailed her recently as one of the great American voices, and certainly she must be one of the most powerful. With a physical presence to rival that of any opera diva, she can roar, growl and howl with hurricane force, yet also has a softer, more sly side to her vocal character, making her recent work on record rich and multi-textured.

James is billed nowadays, without unnecessary hyperbole, as the Queen of the Blues. As if to live up to her title, she proved to be a wayward and shamelessly regal presence — arriving

on stage 50 minutes late, she played for a straight hour, then left without an encore. Yet it would be impossible to deny that she is, for all her wilfulness, a monumental talent. An intense yet stoic rendition of "I'd Rather Go Blind", an Etta original long before it became a staple of every self-respecting bluesman and woman's set-list, made this point conclusively, reducing a highly supportive and patient audience to a temporary stunned silence.

Elsewhere, as befits a woman who has embraced the southern Blues tradition so wholeheartedly, James showed herself to be a highly physical, even lascivious performer, adept at a range of movements popularly believed to have been mimed by Madonna. Leering her way through "Breakin' Up Somebody's Home" or "Come To Mama", she was the essence of an aggressive, knowing sexuality, while on "Damn Your Eyes" — extended here to include an inspired re-working of the Latin chestnut "Besame Mucho" — she appeared both vulnerable and intensely proud. Imperious then, and highly mercurial, but with more than enough substance to carry off such a high-handed approach.

ALAN JACKSON

WORLD MUSIC: African sounds are sheer joy

Riveted by the rhythm

Baaba Maal
Jazz Caf  , London

GREAT hopes were once entertained for African music in Britain, but in a recession, the global outlook is often first victim to a shrinking perspective. Of all the exciting performers who have shown Londoners the copious regional varieties of Africa's music, Senegal's Baaba Maal is one of the few who can still hope to generate widespread enthusiasm.

From the opening moments of the first of two sets at the Jazz Caf  , veteran vocalist Mansour Seck's solo voice under-pinned by a keyboard drone and explosive talking drums, this was a riveting experience. Seck has powerful enough vocal cords, but when Baaba Maal began singing from the balcony above the stage, the sense of special occasion spread through the capacity audience.

DAVID TOOP

CLASSICAL: A quarter of a century of new music

Anniversary adventures

LS/Knussen
Queen Elizabeth Hall

at the outset to a clarion climax of brass and tubular bells and an intense, evocative cantilena for solo violin.

Oliver Knussen conducted what sounded an assured and securely appointed performance, with which the composer seemed well pleased. He had every reason to be satisfied by the expertise bestowed on his work by the instrumentalists, both individually and as a collective ensemble alert to each

other's responses, and revealing in the fluency they brought to Knussen's own

brief study, *Coursing*, to begin the programme. The tightly wrought vigour of this contrasted with the more open and delicate textures of Toru Takemitsu's subtle musical landscape, *Tree Line*, leading to the programme's oldest yet most haunting work: Robin Holloway's *Evening with Angels*, com-

posed in 1972. What he calls a "textless song-cycle", mainly derived from Tennyson, is beautifully crafted in its instrumental sensibility, blending the strands of five solo strings, celeste and an assortment of wind instruments.

To end this celebration, the American tenor Jon Garrison joined the orchestra to sing *In Sleep, In Thunder*, a 1981 commission from Elliott Carter, who set six poems by Robert Lowell expressing both passion and conflict, the substance of the words becoming changed by the shifting weight of the vocal line. The singer's enunciation was admirable, and the conductor ensured the text was never obscured in balance with the instrumental playing.

NOEL GOODWIN



Point to the brief

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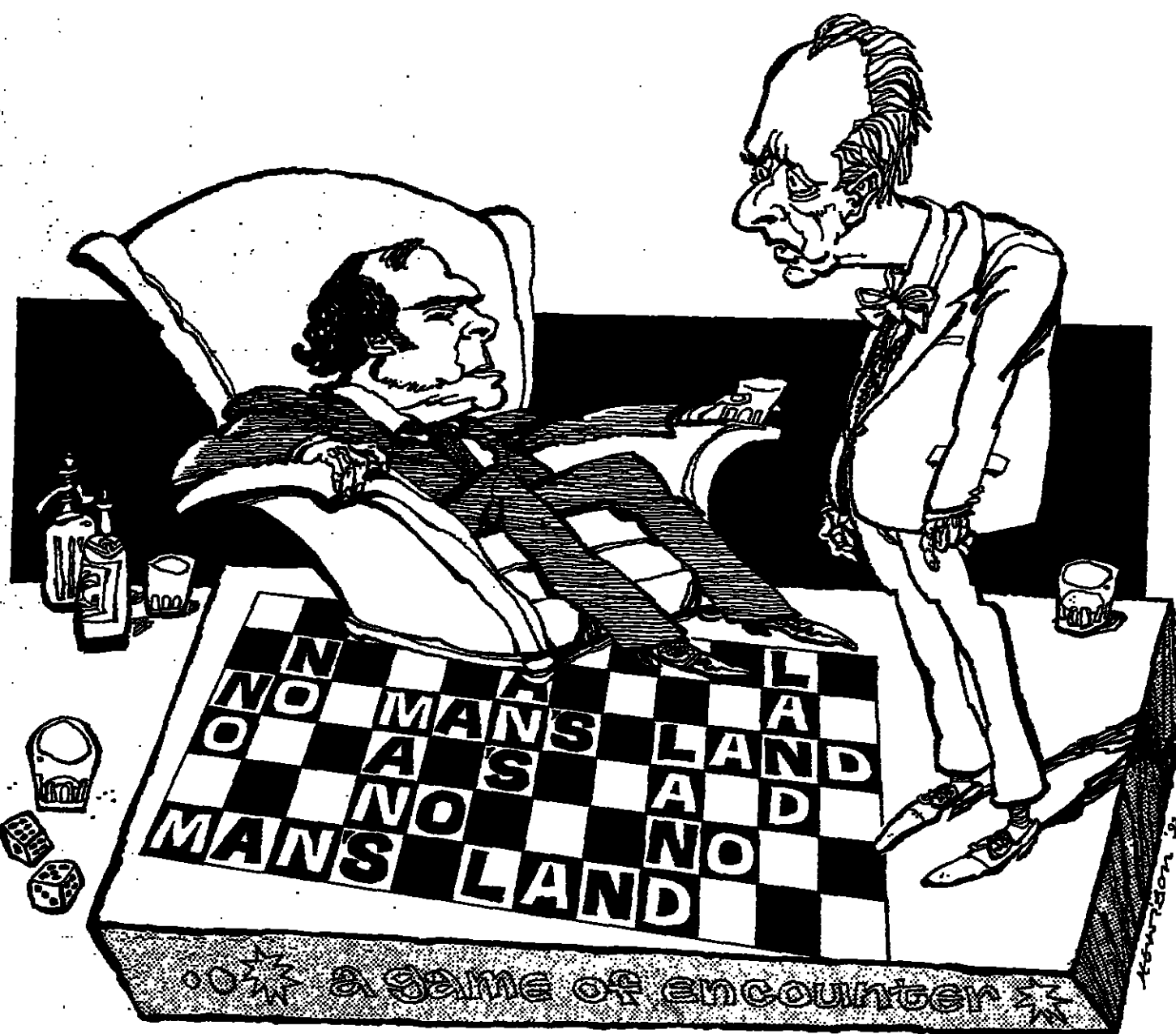
THEATRE: Benedict Nightingale reviews a revival of a neglected Pinter play, with the playwright among the cast

Another fine journey to Pinter land

This is the first important revival of the most neglected of all Harold Pinter's full-length plays, and it goes far towards amending the doubts raised by the original production 17 years ago. Was the Pinter of 1975 annihilating and regurgitating earlier, better work? Was the piece simply an exercise in the 'interresque' that had been given previous significance by Sir John Gielgud and Sir Ralph Richardson's expert playing of the main roles? The answer offered by David Leveaux's non-lightning production of the Almeida is decidedly upbeat. Pinter himself plays Hirst, the wealthy, reclusive alcoholic in whose bombed-out head dream and reality, fantasy and memory, even day and night, have elided into a "no man's land" peopled by ghosts from the 1930s. Two thuggish attendants, Douglas Hodge's smirking Foster and Gawn Grainger's dour Briggs, keep the whisky flowing and he would out. Then into the steely limbo of Bob Crowley's set comes a dilapidated poet whom Hirst has picked up on one of his lazy walks across Hampstead Heath, Paul Eddington's Spooner. At times it is admirably as if Pinter's *Caretaker* had been blended with his *Old Times* and salted with bits of *The Homecoming*. In many ways Spooner is a familiar figure, the opportunist with territorial ambitions, the intruder on the hunt for space to steal. And Foster and Briggs harass him in the same old, oblique way in which Mick flatters the tramp Davies in *The Cretaker*. A speech about London's most disorienting one-way traffic systems is classic Pinter, a comically odd warning about getting too involved in an emotionally intricate situation.

No Man's Land Almeida

her younger self, in increasingly desperate efforts to assert their mastery over her then and now. The past became a battleground and reminiscences the weapons of war. Here, Spooner enters Hirst's obsessive memories of his Brideshead youth and manipulates them, playing the role of an old friend, a cuckold, a rival in love, anything that will increase his intimacy with and his hold over the old toper. Does the play sound arcane and inscrutable? So it is at times. Moreover, the stakes seem lower than in *Old Times* or *The Homecoming* and the dramatic tension is consequently slighter. Yet there was no boredom in the air on Monday night and much more laughter than I recall in 1975. Pinter's Hirst may not have the weight and authority of Sir Ralph's prototype, but behind the swagger he affects when he is acting out his memories is an anguished abstraction of which that great actor would have been proud. And Eddington achieves the still trickier feat of rejigging a character that had seemed definitively interpreted by Sir John. Gone is the ragbag bohemian with his sandals, rimless specs and fastidious pique. Instead, we get a Spooner in a bow-tie and a suit that has seen better days, a nervous, watchful figure precariously sustaining a sub-Garrick Club respectability. His drooping body, shrunken cheeks and long, sharp nose combine with beady, darting eyes and a prim, wailing voice to create the impression of a predatory marsh-bird, past its prime yet capable of hanging open a shell and sucking out the flesh if a plump snail should insist on being eaten. It is a finely observed portrait of failure, funny yet sad, and proof in itself that Pinter's *No Man's Land* has what really matters: first-hand life.



Two fine performances: Harold Pinter as the reclusive Hirst, Paul Eddington as Spooner, the opportunist with territorial ambitions

FRINGE THEATRE: Martin Hoyle on an evocative and enigmatic multi-media drama; and a chilling tale of Irish family conflict

Fiddling while the world ends



Counterpoint: Charles Mutter in *Why Things Happen*

Why Things Happen ICA

The analogy between the atomic bomb and a Bach sonata is tenuous, but this multi-media exercise in emotional counterpoint weaves links between parallel experiences large and small, public and personal, with elegance and confidence. The company Second Stride has taken a script by Marty Cruikshank, a violinist playing a violinist and a television director played by an actor, to ring deconstructive variations on the themes of creation and disintegration by way of abusive contact. Antony McDonald's set deploys the sterile comfort of office furniture and a square-framed opening that combines elements of hollow television, toy theatre and shop window. The television director interviews a musician who takes a sonata apart, a woman dances, director and woman

recall their relationship, increasingly over-shadowed in retrospect by the nuclear tests in Australia that climaxed on the day of his birth. Second Stride has built up a reputation for a refreshing, or cussed, refusal to fit in to a neat theatrical category. There are times in the new show, already honed by a national tour over the past month, when one would like more of Cruikshank's writing. The few set-piece speeches for the media man sound rather stylish, as far as one can tell in the back rows where Timothy Walker's *pianissimo* delivery reached only fitfully. One certainly could have done with more clarification of the woman's role; equally, the non-dance buffis among us might have wished for elucidation of Joanne Leighton's vigorous exercises. But the direction by Ian Spink, director, choreographer and the company's artistic director, never lets things flag. The musician is played by Charles Mutter, and Judith Weir, no less, is arranger and musical director.

The Rock Station The Cockpit

As the lighthouse keeper warns: "People on rock stations end up killing each other over burnt porridge." This particular lighthouse, or rock station, is off the west coast of Ireland, and Tom Piper's evocative design collars us at once with its hint of brooding menace: the cluttered octagonal living room, the lantern chamber jutting out above it; and all around draped swathes of canvas, frozen waves or jagged rocks, on which perches a fiddler, a mute peasant woman who watches the drama unfold from outside, a Fate who plays threat instead of spinning the thread of human life. The second half of Ger Fitts' two-handers fails to live up to this haunting image or the tension initially generated by Abigail Morris's direction. The opening production of the revived Soho Theatre Company in its new

home off Lisson Grove is a literate yarn that changes gear halfway through from an atmospheric piece about two estranged brothers reunited in claustrophobic isolation to a plain thriller, less a whodunit than a whatisit and a whowashe. This Irish family is symbolically riven: the off-stage father a Catholic patronised by his protestant employers; the keeper of the light evidently an engineering genius who has opted for a remote life of "simple practical tasks to be done and a clean logic to it all"; and his younger brother, a dapper visitor who arrives out of the mist to inquire about the recent mysterious death of the assistant keeper. The play is set in the 1860s

when Fenian revolt and gun-running were rife; but the play's acknowledgment of the era's political turbulence and the horrific social conditions that provoked it, looks perfunctory: mere background to a creepy adventure story. The piece seems uncertain whether to deliver a message or simply chill the spine. The wail and rasp of Richard Heacock's music, electronically amplified strings to evoke seals, the ocean or—in sudden silence—emotional tension, seems to have little contact with Emily Fox's inaudible fiddling. Decent performances of their wordy, and finally overlong, roles from Peter Caffrey (the keeper) and Sean Cranitch (the brother who is not what he seems).

DERWENT MAY

TELEVISION REVIEW: Kinsey is back on the case

Leigh Lawson has returned in the title role of a second six-part series of *Kinsey* (BBC 1, last night). Originally unwilling to repeat the role—a caring, streetwise, fashionably dressed but embattled Birmingham solicitor—the actor said on TV-am on Friday last that he had changed his mind because he thought there was more to be discovered about the character and he had enjoyed the work and the attitude of the crew. I do suppose money had anything to do with it. Certainly *Kinsey* operates with little regard for the bottom line and not, as one of the bad guys put it, as though he had "smelt the gear" to be had from a case. What is more, with a teenage sucking ex-wife, a teenage daughter at an expensive school, a new partner who has yet to bring in her old clients, and a slinky new suite of offices, *Kinsey* really ought to be crumpling in as many simple insurance and compensation claim cases as he can, and keeping his head down. Lawson does manage, against the odds, to suggest

Point to the briefs

the humdrum routine which real solicitors have to contend with: his is a credible, personable, fully-rounded, peccolance. But, in the interests of drama, he is tangling with a distinctly heavy-handed drugs squad over the mysterious demise of one Blakey, a heroin-addicted former soldier, said to have acquired the habit while on undercover work in Northern Ireland. Kinsey and his ex-police assistant Danny (Mark Williams, very much *Danno* to Kinsey's *McGarrett*, if you catch my drift), are convinced that the drugs and alcohol with which Blakey killed himself, just in advance of a major drugs bust, were provided by the police. Our heroes' invitations to the policeman's ball this year may be withdrawn. Peter Gibbs created the *Kinsey* character and still writes the scripts, with a smattering of sharp banter and an occasional excellent, genuinely tough scene. But he has a possibly fatal tendency, no doubt encouraged by thoughts of prime-time ratings, to pull some punches. Thus, although the ex-wife (Marianne Loughlin) comes on all killy devious and bitter, she blunts

the barbs and ultimately leaves no doubt as to how much she admires Kinsey's altruism. Possibly the comic talents of Meera Syal, as Val, secretary and office manager, are also too much for Gibbs to resist. Her machinations and backchat certainly enliven proceedings, but this engaging show, produced by Carol Parks and in this instance directed by Richard Standeven, should not be confused with *Hill Street Blues* or *LA Law*, where the comic-to-serious-to-heart-warming gearchanges were more boldly handled. Besides, there are not enough established characters to allow convincing multi-strand storylines: everything revolves around Kinsey. Tricia (Serena Gordon), Kinsey's new partner, does, however, have Hollywood glamour aplenty, along with the steely glint required of a convincing advocate. I can hardly wait for their professional partnership to lead to something more personal (stay tuned for episode three). With Tricia's former partners cutting up rough and trying to stop her working in the same city, and the daughter turning up in mid-term with her suitcase, the first episode had almost too many loose ends for the unflappable Kinsey to sort out next week. But, sure as forgetting to button up his trademark voluminous black raincoat (could this be an attempt to give him the look of a barrister in a gown?) he will, won't he.

TONY PATRICK

DANCE UMBRELLA FESTIVAL

Fluent in French

Dance does not normally need subtitles, but the thought did occur with the Astrakhan company's *Gravures* (Engravings), which focused on a spoken French text. Although we found ourselves at the French Institute, the audience targeted was not only French, since the event was presented in association with Dance Umbrella. It was enough, however, to catch the verbal gist, a translation of a letter written in 1336 by Petrarch. In it he describes his ascent of the Mont Ventoux: the climb became as much a spiritual as a physical journey. Round Petrarch's reflections, the choreographer Daniel Larrieu has built a subtle and unusual web of movement. Larrieu was one of the five performers weaving around the central Petrarch figure of James Smylie, who as well as dancing also narrated the lengthy text. At times they just stood or walked or sat; at times their movements echoed the words obliquely. Their pace was unhurried, with graceful arms and detailed hands choreographed into patterns. Selections of music (mostly Boccherini and Schubert) supplemented the words. Where Larrieu opts for an affecting simplicity, his compatriot Dominique Bagouet goes for a brasher style that made full use of the Royal Theatre's broad stage (courtesy again of Dance Umbrella).

Bagouet stands out from other established French choreographers in that he carries traces of an American post-modern influence; and fittingly he invited the American choreographer Trisha Brown to create a piece for his *Compagnie Bagouet*. The outcome, *Along Story*, as in *Falling*, along with Bagouet's own *So Schnell* (So Fast), made up a double bill which maintained a consistent clinical distance and dislocation. With Brown, the dancers become impersonal alien creatures, intent on their own vertical equilibrium, a notion emphasised by the giant plumbline hanging at the back. The effect was static, but fascinating, resembling an abstract painting in yellow and grey, with the sharp graphic outlines of dancers assembled in asymmetrical clusters. Like Brown, Bagouet used a sound collage (in his case, clicks and hum of industrial machinery), and a dispassionate perspective. Even at the end, when he allowed glimmers of emotion to appear between a couple, he reduced his treatment to robotic, parodic gestures. Before that he had dismantled his dancers' manoeuvres: he had set quirky individuals, duos and trios against massed groups. As a vision of life it was playful, puzzling and over-exended.

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THE TIMES

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TIM0004

RADIO REVIEW

Buy now and pray later

Buying a pension for purgatory: that was how a speaker on An Obligation of Love (Radio 3, Saturday) described the establishment of a chantry, that is to say the employment of a priest or two to pray for you after you were dead. The chantries flourished just before the Reformation — which, to complete the metaphor, came along like Robert Maxwell carrying off the pension funds. All the historians and clergy on James Whitbourn's excellent programme stressed that the setting up of a chantry was not just a selfish act. We got a vivid impression of a lost world where prayer flowed around everybody, propping them up, it was hoped, with God's grace.

In this world the dead were simply like part of an extended family, and a chantry priest was meant to pray not just for his dead employer, but for everybody else around, living or passed over. In any case, it was fully appreciated that a wealthy man was likely to need extra prayers if he was to get out of purgatory into heaven. The priests often had a chantry chapel in the church (a tiny suite of rooms that one lived in still exists in St George's Chapel, Windsor; and in practice they did many other good works, especially building up the church music. There was no preaching on the programme. Whitbourn only permitted himself one elegiac thought at the end: not even Christians think much about the afterlife any more. On Radio 4 you can now hear (in 41 parts) the poetic vision of one of the greatest of the reformers: Milton's *Paradise Lost*. From the first instalment, you got a sense of an utterly changed world from that of the chantries: one where the individual had to strive alone for salvation. Both for Milton and Satan a stubborn determination seemed to offer the best hope for the future, though Satan of course was only going to succeed in the short term. Denis Quilley is reading the narration — or "playing the part of Milton" as Radio 4 chooses to put it. He does it very well, calmly leading us through the long and complex paragraphs and using the verse stresses to heighten clarity, as they should.

DERWENT MAY

Arlington fills out BAe acres

Christopher Warman looks at the thriving plans of Britain's leading business park developer

The first fruits of the acquisition by British Aerospace of Arlington, the leading business park developer, are ripening at Bracknell, Berkshire, and Hatfield, Hertfordshire. These former BAe sites are being transformed into an office scheme and business park respectively.

The site at Bracknell, 22 acres of the former BAe Aerodynamics plant, where the gyroscope was developed, and the 100-acre Hatfield site illustrate clearly why BAe acquired Arlington three years ago.

BAe paid £278 million for the company, with Arlington bringing in about 1,400 acres of land either developed or in the planning pipeline. Arlington's projects include Aztec West at Bristol, Britain's most mature business park, Birmingham Business Park, Solent and Gloucester. BAe had a total of 35,000 acres, of which very little had been "rationalised" in planning terms, Arlington explains.

Under the January 1991 directive on the rules for consideration in local plans, Arlington was responsible for ensuring that about 2,400 acres of BAe land on 24 sites was incorporated into local plans, which could have a value to BAe of £1 billion when developed.

Hatfield needs development and job opportunities after the decision to close down a BAe factory there and with the ambitious Galleria shopping centre on the A1 (M) in receivership. Hatfield Business Park is a mixed commercial scheme for which Arlington has planning consent for 1.1 million sq ft.

Almost as soon as planning consent was granted, Arlington

prelet a 78,000 sq ft distribution depot to Royal Mail and has sold it on to Clerical Medical, which has also bought property at Aztec West.

Because of its location on the A1 (M) and proximity to the M25, and because of the calibre of the labour, Hatfield is becoming a prime target for relocation and space use north of London. St Albans is one of the few towns in the area with equivalent benefits, but the planners are reluctant to promote anything that might affect the fabric of the town, which gives the advantage for development to Hatfield.

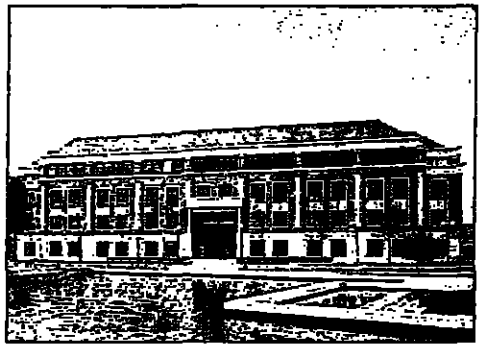
The Bracknell site com-

pleted development will be finished to the highest specifications, and the first building, the 84,000 sq ft No 1 Arlington Square, will be completed early next year. The rental is expected to be more than £25 a sq ft and the scheme will be marketed on the theme of "a London feel of quality in the Thames valley".

Aztec West is set in 157 acres, of which 128 can be developed to provide 1.5 million sq ft of space. There are now 72 companies, with a workforce of about 5,000, which will rise to 8,500 when the scheme is completed. Landscaping, including lakes, a public house converted from a farm-house, and a centre building with shops and a wine bar, make this a model for a workplace that offers more than just work.

Although it started as a high-tech scheme, Arlington is attracting professional services, including consultants and lawyers, and high-tech companies now account for about 40 per cent of the development. After initial scepticism, legal firms have moved from the congested centre of Bristol to the park, and find that instead of spending time visiting clients, their clients are happy to come and see them — providing a bonus in increased productivity.

Arlington is careful to acquire only the finest locations and has lost some sites because it was not prepared to pay the exaggerated prices produced by the property boom. The result, as at Birmingham, where the company's site is now 60 per cent committed, is a number of developments that even in these difficult times are attracting tenants and investors.



Quality: No 1 Arlington Square, Bracknell



Almack House, in King Street at the heart of St James's, London, is the only substantial new building to be completed in St James's this year and has been launched on the market at an asking rent of £49.50 a sq ft through Richard Ellis, the property agency. Named after an 18th-century building on the site, the scheme is financed by London & Edinburgh Trust (LET) and Belt Mountains BV (a subsidiary of the leading Dutch pension fund, PGGM).

The 100,000 sq ft development on nine floors was designed by the architects Scott Brownrigg & Turner and has an exterior clad with Portland stone and polished granite, while the interior makes extensive use of limed oak and polished Botticino marble. The design was refined after discussions with English

Heritage and the Royal Fine Arts Commission, and as part of the planning gain there are seven flats in a separate building on the site.

Alan Artus, a director of LET, says that with the slowdown of development no comparable building would be completed in the area for at least 18 months. "This creates excellent opportunities for Almack House, with the supply of new quality space in the West End tightening."

Erik Batstra, investment manager UK of Belt Mountains, says that market indicators are more positive for the West End than for other parts of London. "As a leading Dutch pension fund, we feel our commitment to London will be well rewarded and we will continue to be interested in looking at high quality space in the United Kingdom."

Almack House could provide a fine headquarters building for a single tenant, but the agents are looking for three or four tenants, both for their favoured investment strategy and to keep control of the management. The entirely new building, viewed with suspicion by existing occupiers of King Street, who include Christies and Spinks opposite, replaces a 40-year-old building formerly occupied by the Inland Revenue. The design for Almack House had to meet stringent height and bulk restrictions, and its exterior design is intended to complement and harmonise with the surrounding areas of St James's. The facade, for which some of the materials were hand-crafted on site, is a contemporary interpretation of the Regency style, and internally the style shows the influence of the site's chandler history.

Falling rates bring little interest

Investors are keeping their heads beneath the parapet until the economy shows clear signs of growth

Lack of confidence in the property market and in economic revival means that few significant investments are being made at present despite improved opportunities for recovery caused by devaluation and reduced interest rates. Healey & Baker says in its latest investment report.

The international property consultancy explains that the letting market continues to suffer from a shortage of enquiries for space, resulting in no immediate prospect of an upturn in rental values. The main players in the investment market are taking up

defensive positions, looking for returns close to their money cost, and are generally averse to taking risks.

In spite of cheaper property prices, those outside the United Kingdom are deterred by doubts about the government's management of the economy. Although the survey looks forward to market improvement, it concludes that there will be no quick return to significant real growth in values. This will depend upon the economy following a sustained upward path.

"Before re-entering the exchange-rate mechanism the UK must rebuild its domestic economic capacity," David Hutchings, head of Healey & Baker's investment research, said. "Any re-entry must be at a sustainable rate since an early return at the wrong level will lead to more problems. There may well be truth in the argument that European unity is more achievable at a time of growth."

He was cautious about market projections based on historic trends at a time of economic turbulence but said the report indicated that the investment market would improve in 1993. "The market is still restrained by a lack of quality stock and the mismatch between vendors' and purchasers' perceptions of value. Economic uncertainty in

the quarter has meant a general increase in the initial returns required by investors."

Although in agreement on the state of the market, Jones Lang Wootton, in its City and West End commercial property market reports for the third quarter, nevertheless emphasises that the leasing market has remained active. In the City there has been a take-up of 2.7 million sq ft during the first nine months of the year, and it is expected that take-up during 1992 will be higher than in 1991. The consultant is also encouraged by an increase in occupancy demand, up by 20 per cent since the end of 1991. "However, over half of the demand is defined as potential rather than active or immediate, a clear reflection of the prevailing economic climate and the difficulty occupiers face in disposing of their existing accommodation."

The vacancy rate at the end of September stood at 18.4 per cent, but of this more than half was represented by second-hand supply. Most second-hand accommodation is either of poor specification or in a fringe location, with only 20 per cent of the available sec-

ond-hand space well located and of good specification.

At present just 1.14 million sq ft of space is under construction in the City, and there is little likelihood of any significant development starts in the foreseeable future. Take-up can therefore be expected steadily to absorb the supply of vacant, well specified offices.

In the West End, a substantial increase in letting activity in the third quarter reflected the long negotiation process in today's market, with several transactions concluded after many months of discussion. The quarterly take-up was the highest since 1990, helped by two deals of 80,000 sq ft each. By the end of September, take-up for 1992 had almost equalled the 1991 total of 1.755 million sq ft, and the total for the year is likely to exceed two million.

Jones Lang Wootton said that rental trends continued downwards over the quarter and expected further falls during the remainder of 1992 before rents stabilised during 1993. Quoting rents for the leading West End buildings remain at over £40 a sq ft, but the majority of transactions were at rents in the range of

£20-£30 a sq ft. Almack House in St James's, featured above, has an asking rent of £49.50, while Arcana's development at 84 South Audley Street, Mayfair, has had its rent reduced from its first asking of £60 a sq ft in mid-1991 to less than £40 a sq ft.

At the same time, King incentives equivalent to a 18-24 month rent-free period have become the market norm for longer leases.

Taking both areas together, Jones Lang Wootton concludes that the central London vacancy rate is likely to peak during the next six months as construction continues to reduce. "New speculative development starts have been negligible during 1992 and this should lead to selective shortages of large modern buildings for occupation in the core City and West End areas. Prime office values across Europe fell by 5.2 per cent during the third quarter of 1992, according to the Richard Ellis European index. This is the seventh consecutive quarterly decline in the index, bringing the decline over the last year to 18.7 per cent, and has been fuelled not only by continuing rental falls in the main markets of London and Paris, but also, for the first time, by falling rental values in Madrid and Barcelona."

The Madrid office market is undergoing significant adjustment, with demand high year lower and supply rising.

C.W.

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The Council invites expressions of interest from organisations willing to undertake a development of an unused 10-acre site which is a statutory listed Grade II building. It is essential that the historic nature of the building remains intact, and the Council has a preference to consider uses relating to the Arts, Countryside and Heritage, and Antiques, although other development opportunities can be considered. All proposals should be compatible with the particular environment of a significant open space and adjacent listed building.

All expressions of interest should be addressed to the Chief Leisure Services Officer, Wycombe District Council, Queen Victoria Road, High Wycombe, Bucks HP11 1BB, and an information pack will be sent by return of post.

All enquiries should be made either to Mr. Vincent Palkovich, Principal Community Leisure Services Manager, Telephone High Wycombe (0494) 421884 or Mr. Lee Davison, Head of Valuation Services, Telephone High Wycombe (0494) 421280.

WYCOMBE DISTRICT COUNCIL

THE TIMES FACILITIES MANAGEMENT

Will be appear on Wednesday 18th November.

For further information please call
James Alexander on 071 481 3024

Taking up station

THE space above Cannon Bridge railway station in the City of London has been well used to provide both 295,000 sq ft of offices and an acre of garden for the staff. Speyhawk, the developer, has let 26,000 sq ft in the Atrium Building to GNI Holdings at a rent about £30 a sq ft. GNI, a financial services company, is the third company to take space in the scheme, bringing total lettings to more than 50 per cent and consolidating the development, which incorporates the London International Financial Futures Exchange, as an important financial centre in the City.

Landmark revived

EXCALIBUR Building, the Grade II listed former Refuge Assurance headquarters in Manchester, has been refurbished for high-tech office use in the first phase of a £1.3 million restoration of the Victorian city landmark by the developer Ric Hawley. Funded by the British Linen Bank and the Central Manchester Development Corporation, Hawley's management company DUKE Overseas has completed a renovation that provides 37,000 sq ft of offices in units from 1,000 sq ft to floors of 8,000 sq ft at rents from £5 a sq ft. The leisure subsidiary of the Rank Organisation has taken 8,500 sq ft on the ground floor. The remaining phases of the 60,000 sq ft building are to be completed early next year.



Sky light an acre of garden on top of Cannon Bridge

Art sale

MOOR Park, a Grade I listed mansion built in 1678 and enlarged in 1720, and golf courses at Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, former home of the Bob Hope Classic and Wang Four Stars golf tournaments, is for sale by the Three Rivers District Council through Humbers Leisure. The local authority is selling the freehold of the property, including the works of art in the mansion, subject to the existing lease to Moor Park Golf Club, whose current rent of £25,000 a year is under review. Sotheby's valued the contents of the mansion in 1991 at about £3 million, and a condition of the sale will be that the treasures must remain in place because of Moor Park's Grade I listing. Nicholas Hopton, a director of Humbers Leisure, said that although the golf club was considering purchasing the freehold there was likely to be interest from investors seeking

long-term rental growth and a prestigious home for their capital. He added that enquiries could come from entrepreneurs seeking to improve and extend the facilities to create a modern golfing complex similar to those at Wentworth and the Belfry, although that would need the support of the planners and English Heritage.

Music box

THE former Royal College of Organists' building next to the Royal Albert Hall, built in 1875 and designed to contrast with it, is for sale through the chartered surveyor Daniel Smith. The Grade II listed building, with its facade featuring murals representing classical characters and musicians, was used until recently by the college, and has 10,370 sq ft on five floors. Daniel Smith says the building would be suitable for headquarters, institutional, educational or embassy use and will be selling the long

leasehold interest in formal tender due on December 3 on behalf of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1991.

Mayfair units

IMRY Group's refurbished office building at 4 Grosvenor Street, London W1, in Mayfair, previous on the market as a single unit, is to be offered in units from 4,200 sq ft to 26,000 sq ft at the same price — £33 a sq ft — through Bernard Thorpe. Kean Hird, director of Imry, said that dividing the building, which stands 50 yds from Claridges and close to Grosvenor Square, was a positive response to the present state of the West End market. There are a significant number of enquiries for 5,000-15,000 sq ft, and he believes that the combination of top quality location and economic asking rent will prove attractive to potential occupiers from a number of sectors.

Boundary change

THE pavilion site of the Foster's Oval cricket ground is to be transformed in a restoration programme over three winters at a cost of £6 million. Fuller Peiser, the property consultancy appointed by Surrey County Cricket Club, is the project manager for the contract, which is to be completed in 1995. In the first stage, a pavilion balcony with more than 500 seats will be provided this winter, as well as increased pavilion seating at ground level, a cinema and enlarged library, and a new security office, with the Sir Leonard Hinton sculpture, the Hobbs Gate.

APR 1992

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In-form Sweet Duke to relish soft going

Hannon defends Piggott

Waterloo Boy takes revenge

Point meeting scheduled for a Sunday

SWEET DUKe, with Carl Llewellyn in the saddle, can continue Nigel Twiston-Davies's fine start to the season by winning the Tom Masson Trophy at Newbury today, and he is my map.

Peter Scudamore, now required by Martin Pipe to ride Diamond Cut, was aboard the five-year-old when he won at Cheltenham early last month.

However, Llewellyn had ridden him the time before at Perth, where he was the second leg of his stable's famous four-timer.

Discussing Sweet Duke yesterday, Twiston-Davies said: "He's in very good nick and the more rain, the better. So the deluge, which soaked the Berkshire track during Monday morning, was like sweet music in his ears."

As Diamond Cut was unable to get in a blow at the useful Staunch Fen on his last visit to today's course 12 days ago - he was beaten 12 lengths by Staunch Fen - the main danger to Sweet Duke is likely to come from the David Nicholson-trained Baydon Star.

He made that good start to his season at Ascot a fortnight ago by beating the subsequent Huntingdon winner Cadency.

However, I feel that the task of giving 4 lb to Sweet Duke will prove just too much here for this nice young half-brother to those good chasers, Rubic and Kidimo.

Baydon Star's trainer and jockey, David Nicholson and Richard Dunwoody, can land the Lionel Vick Memorial Handicap Chase though with Tug Of Gold.

On his seasonal debut at Uttoxeter, Tug Of Gold trounced Rio Haina - a difference of 23 lb.

At Warwick last Saturday, Rio Haina put that performance into perspective when he won his next race, easing down by six lengths.

With one eye on the Hennessy Gold Cup, run on the same course later this month, it will be interesting to see how the top weight, Henry Mann, fares in his first race since the spring.

His trainer, Simon Christian, feels that he will probably need the race to put him right.

When last seen, at Cheltenham in April, Henry Mann finished two-and-a-half lengths ahead of Tug Of Gold when they were second and third respectively behind the eventual Whitbread winner, Topsham Bay.

At the earlier Cheltenham festival, Henry Mann had been runner-up to Tipping Tim.

That particular meeting had proved good for the connections of both Keep Talking and Tug Of Gold, but disappointing for Springdale who had won her previous five races.

Now Keep Talking will be having his first race for his current owner, the Queen Mother, since he was bequeathed to her in the will of the late Jim Joel.

Solidasorok, Country Member and Kentish Piper, who represents Nick Gaselee instead of the course specialist Mr Entenarner, are others who should give a good account of themselves.

Retail Runner, who impressed at Ascot a fortnight ago, is just preferred to the National Hunt Festival winner Dusty Miller's Chase, while the Winterbourne Handicap Chase can go to the Tim Forster-trained Azami King for the second year in succession.

At Uttoxeter, all eyes will be on the talented hurdler Sybilina, who starts his steep-chasing career in the Moira Hooley-Betting Spy Novices' Chase.

He has the ability to speed up his trainer Jimmy Fitzgerald, whose horses are running well again.

Further north, Whast Fettle (2.20) is taken to win his third race in a row at Kelso.

Another factor is Clay County, who looks on a favourable mark for the BSKyb Handicap Chase, receiving a stone from Moment Of Truth.

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Another factor is Clay County, who looks on a favourable mark for the BSKyb Handicap Chase, receiving a stone from Moment Of Truth.

Waterloo Boy takes revenge on Katabatic in Exeter's feature race yesterday and left his old rival's big race plans in shreds.

The leading two mile chasers had clashed on six previous occasions and each time Katabatic had come out on top.

But there was to be no repeat performance as the 5-2 on favourite failed to sparkle in the two-and-a-quarter mile Plymouth Gin Haldon Gold Cup.

Golden Freeze cut out much of the early running but Waterloo Boy moved smoothly into the lead three out.

Luke Harvey put Katabatic under strong pressure, but never looked likely to make up the length and was five lengths down at the finish.

Waterloo Boy had unseated his rider in this event two years ago and finished second last year.

His trainer, David Nicholson, said: "He deserved this. I hadn't realised that Katabatic had beaten us six times so it's nice to reverse the placings."

Waterloo Boy will follow a similar route to last year on his way to Cheltenham's championship chase, taking in the Tingle Creek, Castleford and Victory Chandler Chases.

Andy Turnell blamed himself for Katabatic's defeat: "I might have left him short of a gallop," he admitted. "But he was never going with his usual fluency and is better on left-handed tracks."

Point meeting scheduled for a Sunday

CAMPAIGNERS for regular Sunday racing got another shot in the arm yesterday when the Jockey Club announced that a point-to-point meeting will be held on April 25 next year.

The Point-to-Point Owners' Association will organise the fixture at Ashmore, Warwickshire, with advice from the Jockey Club's Sunday racing committee on the necessary legalities.

David Pipe, the club's director of public affairs, said: "The Jockey Club stewards have authorised this fixture because it will help to keep the issue of Sunday racing before the public at a time when the government is likely to be carrying out its promise to reform the Sunday trading laws."

"The necessary precautions will again be taken to prevent cash bets being placed on the course and, since no off-course betting is involved, the legal situation will be less complicated."

Macready is new BHB deputy

THE final places on the British Horseracing Board (BHB) were filled yesterday with the election of Sir Nevil Macready, Michael Darnell and Lord Swaythling.

The trio will join eight other members in the new organisation to form the BHB's Industry Committee.

Macready, who has been chairman of the Horseracing Advisory Council since 1986, will be committee chairman.

He defeated the former Conservative MP Sir Peter Morrison, who had been promoted by the Trainers' Federation, for the post.

Sir Nevil will automatically become deputy chairman of the BHB.

The trainers appear to have more success with their behind-the-scenes promotions for the other two seats.

Darnell owns horses trained in Newmarket by

Subzero wins slow-race cup

SUBZERO, the 4-1 second favourite, slogged through the mud to win the £30,612 Fosters Melbourne Cup at Flemington yesterday.

Ridden by Greg Hall, Subzero struck the front with almost two furlongs to run and stayed on stoutly to beat the New Zealand-trained 9-4 favourite, Veandercross, by two-and-a-quarter lengths, with another New Zealand hope, Castletown, a length back in third.

It was local trainer Les Freedman's second Cup triumph, following the 1990 victory of Tawhriri.

Heavy morning rain brought about the late defeat of last year's winner, Let's Elope. The testing conditions were indicated by Subzero's winning time, 3min 24.7sec, almost eight-and-a-half seconds outside the course record.

Exeter

Going: good

1.20 (2m 2m 11yd) 1. GRAND HAWK (P) Scudamore, 2. Sun Star (P) Scudamore, 3. Sun Star (P) Scudamore, 4. Sun Star (P) Scudamore, 5. Sun Star (P) Scudamore, 6. Sun Star (P) Scudamore, 7. Sun Star (P) Scudamore, 8. Sun Star (P) Scudamore, 9. Sun Star (P) Scudamore, 10. Sun Star (P) Scudamore.

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CHANNEL 4

6.00 **Cartoons** (433436) 7.00 **The Big Breakfast** (41181) (41181)
9.00 **You Bet Your Life** American game show (S) (27162)
9.30 **Schools** (686328)
10.00 **The 1990s** Program presented by Anne Perkins (47956)
12.30 **Sesame Street** Pre-school series (66568) 1.30 **Eureeka!**
Castle, Young children's entertainment (58520)
2.00 **Film: Pink String and Sealing Wax** (1945, b/w) starring Googie
Peters, John Carol and Mervyn Johns. Ealing period thriller set in
Brighton during the 1850s about how a young man is drawn into
murder through his infatuation with a publican's wife. Directed by
Robert Hamner (422817)
3.40 **The Tug Slaves in Slippery Socks** (1936, b/w) (1155758)
4.00 **Family Pride** Drama serial about a Midlands-based Asian family
(S) (704)
4.30 **Fifteen to One** Fast-moving general knowledge quiz (S) (988)
5.00 **The Oprah Winfrey Show** The guests are people who thought
they had a perfect marriage until mid-life crisis struck and their
partners abandoned them (S) (8225549)
5.35 **The Magic Roundabout** Classic children's series, narrated by
Nigel Planer (1151)
6.00 **Treasure Hunt** Anneka Rice, armed with her first gun, goes in
search of hidden treasure in the Cotswolds (r). (Teletext) (74566)
7.00 **Channel 4 News** (Teletext) Weather (243075)
7.30 **Party Political Comment** from a Labour party politician (469655)
8.00 **Brookside**, Merseyside soap (Teletext) (S) (11655)
8.30 **Anton Moseimann — Naturlity**. The master chef prepares an
outdoor feast. Last in the series (r). (Teletext) (33902)
9.00 **Disappointment**
● **CHOICE:** This week's programme considers *Pornography: Women, Violence and Civil Liberties*, a controversial new book of
research which claims that extensive use of pornographic material can
lead to rape, attacks on women and child abuse. While the
terminist message is hardly new, the fact that it is supported by facts
and figures could make it more difficult for people, and men in
particular, to ignore. The book's findings, based on surveys and
legal evidence in Britain, Canada and the United States as well as
the experiences of sex offenders and their victims, lead editor Dr
Catherine Lanz to sound a warning against all porn, not just the worst
excesses of it. As she puts it, "Pornography has a function in
culture. More than any other form of art, it is, what women want
and what you can do to them." (476595)



A carp in the family bath: Anthony Walters as Rory (9.45p)

9.45 Short and Curious: The Big Fish.
 * CHOICE: The latest take in the series of title gems has an 11-year-old Irish boy living in 1960s suburban London kidnapping a huge carp and placing it in the family bath. While young Fry's parents are at first excited by his catch, they become less so when they realise it means never having a bath. Inevitably, and in the best tradition of boy-movie heroism, the fish has to be killed. The great Directors David Donnellan and Nick Ormerod, better known for their Cheek By Jowl Theatre Company, embellish the slim story with surreal touches as we see the world through Fry's eyes complete with a Virgin Mary, judgmental adults in judge's wigs and even the odd Buddha. The fish is a genuine treat on a naturalistic level with Fiona Shaw excellent as the slightly unhinged Catholic mother (s) (960753)

10.00 The Golden Girls. More laughs from the gorgeous Misses of a certain age. (Rated) (s) (46855)

10.30 Paving The Way. A comedy about the music (s) (153181)

11.15 Midnight Special: The Maastricht Debate. Vincent Hanna introduces a discussion on the implications of tonight's vote to the Maastricht Treaty (970029)

12.15am The Steven Allen Show (stv.) Vincent Hanna comedy show. The queen of the night. The Four Diamonds (705526)

12.40 The Best Of The Worst. Greg Kinnear introduces people with horrible jobs and ghastly hobbies (2028940)

1.10 Film: Azaad (1951, b/w) starring Dilip Kumar. Hindi drama about a man on the run, accused of murder, who comes to the aid of a

THE MOVIE CHAIR

LIFESTYLE

View The Astral satellite
10.30 Robert Morley of the World (900) 483-2635
Cover Story (24:27) 11.00 Gloss (43:30)
11.10 The Joan Rivers Show (23:10) 10
12.00 Jeopardy! (30:00) 10
12.30 10. Lynchburg (34:28:20) 1.10 Safe-
Home (21:36:35) 1.10 Remington Home
12.30 10.10 Sally Jessy Raphael (26:40:17)
1.10 10.10 The Mothers-in-Law (25:49) 4.00
1.10 Van Dyke Show (53:34) 1.10
1.10 Safe-House (21:36:35) 1.10
1.10 Sally Jessy Raphael (57:40)
1.10 Safe-House (20:34:39) 10.00
1.10 1.10 2.30 Home View (57:51)

UK GOLD

View The Astral satellite
10.30 Robert Morley of the World (900) 483-2635
Cover Story (24:27) 11.00 Gloss (43:30)
11.10 The Joan Rivers Show (23:10) 10
12.00 Jeopardy! (30:00) 10
12.30 10. Lynchburg (34:28:20) 1.10 Safe-
Home (21:36:35) 1.10 Remington Home
12.30 10.10 Sally Jessy Raphael (26:40:17)
1.10 10.10 The Mothers-in-Law (25:49) 4.00
1.10 Van Dyke Show (53:34) 1.10
1.10 Safe-House (21:36:35) 1.10
1.10 Sally Jessy Raphael (57:40)
1.10 Safe-House (20:34:39) 10.00
1.10 1.10 2.30 Home View (57:51)

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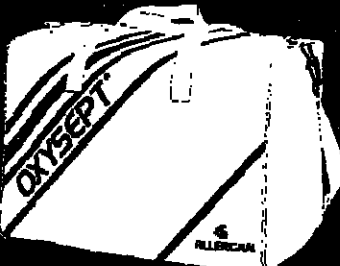
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RACING 37

TRAINER DEFENDS
PIGGOTT'S DECISION
TO COMPETE

SPORT

WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 4 1992

SPORTS POLITICS 38

NEBILOLO AT CENTRE
OF OLYMPIC
GAMES DILEMMA

Odds favour English champions

Leeds prepare to claim share of European riches

By STUART JONES, FOOTBALL CORRESPONDENT

EITHER Leeds United or Rangers, the champions of England and Scotland respectively, will break new ground tonight: the winner of their European Cup tie at Elland Road will become the first British club to reach the last eight of the European Cup since it changed to a round-robin format last season.

The financial rewards for competing in the next stage of the competition, in which the clubs are divided into two groups of four with each team playing the others home and away, are lavish. Just reaching the last eight brings SwFr2 million (£970,000) to each club. Each will then be competing for SwFr460,000 (£225,000) for each point they collect from their six matches. There will also be gate receipts (about £350,000 each time) plus perimeter advertising, programme sales, catering and all the usual ancillaries.

The successful club tonight is likely to earn at least £4 million, but the principal incentive for progressing beyond

the second round was eloquently expressed yesterday by Gary McAllister, the Scottish-born captain of Leeds. "To test yourself against sides with the quality of AC Milan, Barcelona and Marseille is the biggest prize of all," he said.

The winning club's officials will travel tomorrow to Geneva, where the draw takes place on Friday, to plan a schedule that will stimulate huge interest among the supporters as well as in the economy. The losers will go home to comparative obscurity, condemned merely to resuming mundane domestic affairs. Seldom can the consequences of a game held within these shores have been so significant.

The tension was encapsulated by one of Howard Wilkinson's aides. "I didn't even know how many teams were in the mini-league until I read the papers," the Leeds manager said. "I was too scared to think about it."

Head John Lukic, the Leeds goalkeeper, not been dazzled

by the floodlights and punched a hole in his team's security, the fear of failure would not be so prevalent. Only for the 20 minutes after Lukic's own goal was the first leg out of their control. During that unnerving period, Lukic was beaten again.

The tie is finely balanced, but it still promises to finish in favour of Leeds. Their fate, though, lies with a back four no longer as apparently impenetrable as last season and on the availability of Batty, the guard who patrols in front of them.

Leeds have maintained only two clean sheets in their 21 fixtures this season, a record which indicates that Rangers, who have accumulated an average of almost three goals a game (albeit in an inferior league), can expect to score. The crucial question is, how many?

"We've been playing well, but we've conceded a lot of goals," McAllister said. In glancing at a header past Lukic, to the benefit of Coventry City on Saturday, he was himself responsible for the latest example of, as Wilkinson put it, "contributing to our own downfall".

As long as the defensive lapses are kept to a minimum, Leeds should be carried through by their prolific and varied attack. Of the probable outfield line-up, assuming that Batty recovers from his ankle injury, only he and Newsome have not contributed to their total of 42 goals.

"We've never had a patch when we could have been considered even vaguely defensive," Wilkinson said. "We've got the capacity to win games well and I can't see us not scoring."

If Lukic is unbeaten, they require only one to qualify on the away goals rule. McAllister does not believe the margin will be so narrow, but his stunning early strike a fortnight ago could yet be decisive.

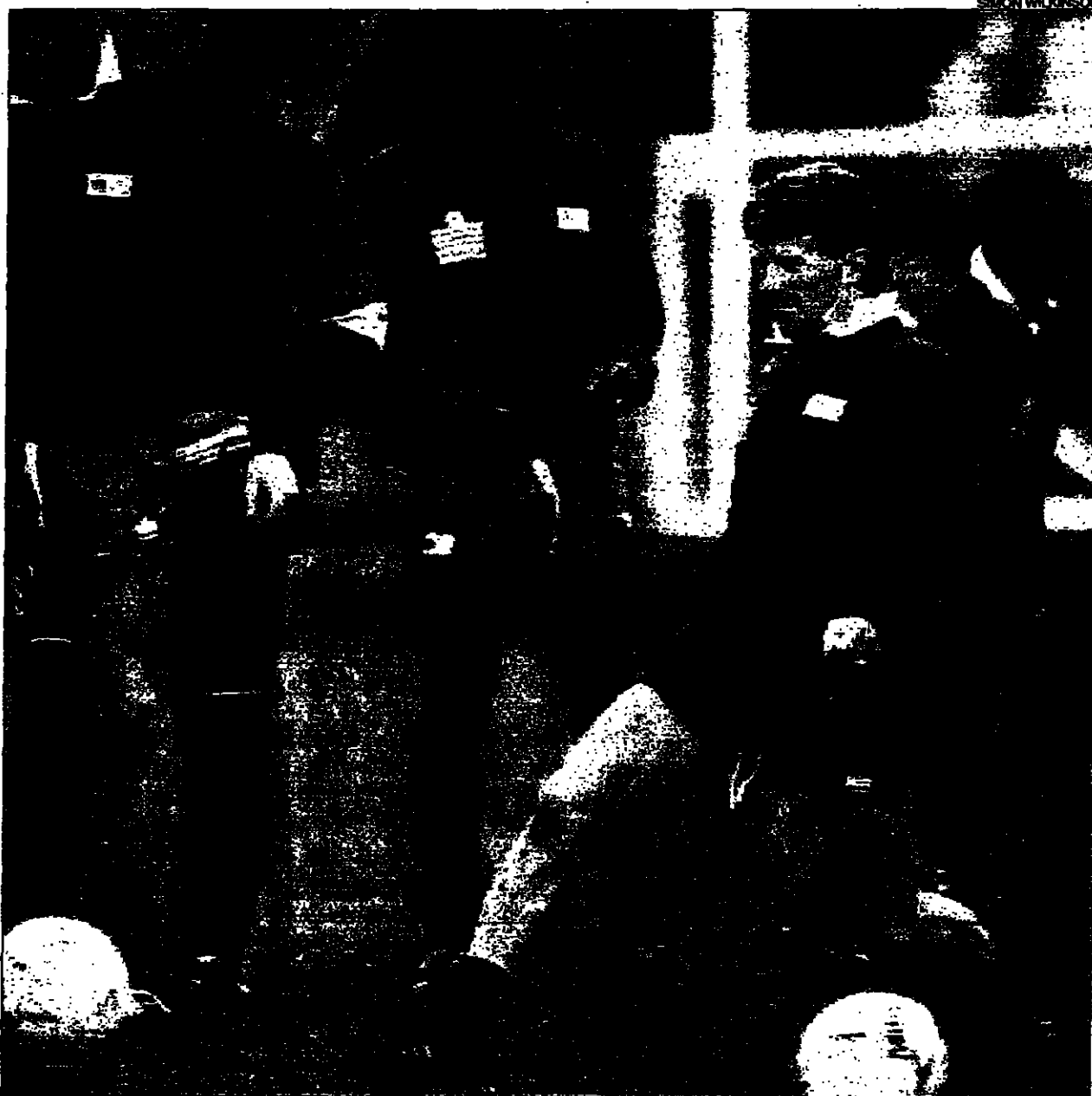
Apart from reassuring his colleagues, he started 43,251 supporters into prolonged silence. Now it is the turn of Rangers to enter, in Wilkinson's words, "the lion's den". Although the experience will be unique, the Scots are unlikely to be intimidated, according to Strachan.

"It was fun," he recalled. "Only bad players are affected by the atmosphere and there aren't many of those playing for the champions of England and Scotland. The behaviour was great and I hope the spirit is the same."

A repaired, rejuvenated Durrant and McCoist, the leader of an attack that has been contained only once this season, could inflame the passions of a capacity partisan crowd. Strachan is convinced that Leeds's followers will ultimately be celebrating. "Mind you," he added, "I think we are going to win every time I go out."

Barry Fry, the Barnet manager, said: "The players received their wage slips on Saturday and half of them were not pleased. The players have called in their own accountants and Fry said: 'A meeting has been arranged with accountants and hopefully they can clear matters up for once and for all.'"

The League is still investigating allegations of irregular payments at Barnet and has placed a transfer embargo on the north London club. Surprisingly, Barnet are flying high in the third division. Fry said: "Not being able to go out and buy does not help me in keeping abreast of the competition. But considering all the



Warming up: Strachan, watched by his Leeds colleagues, prepares for tonight's meeting with Rangers

Francis feels confident of success

By IAN ROSS

SHEFFIELD Wednesday and Liverpool will need to produce performances of maturity, skill and passion this evening if they are to prolong their interest in European competition this season.

At Hillsborough, Wednesday's UEFA Cup tie will run cold unless they can overturn a 3-1 first-leg deficit against Kaiserslautern, of Germany, while, on Merseyside, a capacity crowd of 38,000 will assemble at Anfield to see if Graeme Souness's side can overcome Spartak Moscow in the second round of the Cup Winner's Cup. Spartak enjoyed all manner of good fortune en route to a 4-2 victory in the Lenin Stadium a fortnight ago.

Both clubs must, somehow, commit forward players in enough numbers to score the goals they need and, at the

same time, ensure their opponents do not end any hope of salvation by scoring themselves. It is a daunting problem.

At the conclusion of a stormy, controversial game in Germany two weeks ago — one in which Hirst, the England international forward, was sent off and Kaiserslautern awarded a dubious penalty — Trevor Francis, the Wednesday manager, said that he was confident his side would achieve an aggregate victory. Even though it is conceivable that his 16-strong squad this evening will contain just one recognised forward, his stance has changed little.

"I will not need to motivate my players nor will I be required to deliver a team talk," he said. "Kaiserslautern should consider themselves the favourites, but I hope that they are submerged beneath a

sea of noise at Hillsborough."

With Hirst suspended, Bright ineligible, Watson doubtful (because of a viral condition) and Francis himself ruled out because of a groin strain, Wednesday's manager may reluctantly be forced to pair Warhurst and Jenson in attack.

Rainer Zobel, the Kaiserslautern coach, is seemingly bracing himself for some contentious refereeing decisions tonight.

"I understand that the Wednesday players were unhappy about both the dismissal of Hirst and the award of a penalty," he said. "I am expecting a hostile reception from the English supporters. The referee will be under much pressure and this game will be very hard for us. We must be ready for decisions to go against us."

Mike Hooper, Liverpool's

third-choice goalkeeper, could win a surprise recall this evening as cover for Grobbelaar who is suspended following his sending off in Moscow a fortnight ago. James, a £12 million purchase from Watford during the summer, had been expected to deputise, but his form on senior duty has been fitful. Souness will certainly be without Stewart, Piechnik and Whelan, but Molloy, Jones and Nicol may all return after injury.

"If we approach this game properly, I think we can turn it around," Souness said. "I fancy us against anyone at home and I do believe we can score goals against them."

Souness will watch the game from Anfield's main stand after receiving a five-match touchline ban last week for comments he made to the referee during the first leg in Moscow.

New wage dispute at Barnet

STAN Flashman found himself in a further spot of bother again yesterday (Louise Taylor writes). The Barnet chairman, who is due to explain his book-keeping methods to a Football League commission later this month, faced a mutiny from some of his players protesting that their pay packets were up to £60 light.

The dispute comes only a week after a strike by Barnet players who were indignant at an alleged shortfall in wages was apparently averted, following a six-hour meeting between Flashman and the Professional Footballers' Association.

Barry Fry, the Barnet manager, said: "The players received their wage slips on Saturday and half of them were not pleased. The players have called in their own accountants and Fry said: 'A meeting has been arranged with accountants and hopefully they can clear matters up for once and for all.'"

The League is still investigating allegations of irregular payments at Barnet and has placed a transfer embargo on the north London club. Surprisingly, Barnet are flying high in the third division. Fry said: "Not being able to go out and buy does not help me in keeping abreast of the competition. But considering all the

problems off the field, we are doing really well. I can't be more pleased with the overall commitment of everyone."

Vinnie Jones is due to face a Football Association disciplinary commission at Lancaster Gate on November 17. The Wimbledon midfielder is charged with misconduct for his part in a video glorifying cheating and dirty tricks in football and faces a hefty fine and/or a suspension.

Jones was a Chelsea player at the time the video, *Soccer's Hard Men*, was made and Sam Hamman, the Wimbledon owner, has appealed to the FA not to harm his club by suspending Jones.

Sutherland resigns to avert mutiny

FROM BARRY PICKTHALL IN RIO DE JANEIRO

THE British Steel Challenge, the yacht race designed to demonstrate that amateur sailors could circumnavigate the globe, sailed into troubled waters yesterday when Will Sutherland, the skipper of Commercial Union, resigned to avoid a mutiny after his vessel had straggled into port here nearly nine days behind the leaders. The 5,300 miles from the Solent had taken Commercial Union 38 days, six days longer than the next slowest.

Sutherland, 47, was the only professional on board the yacht — the 13 crew members had each paid £15,000 to take part in this race — but he was forced to resign when it was made clear to him that the crew would not continue with him in charge.

Sutherland discovered the depth of feeling against him as the yacht — one of ten identical 67-foot yachts in the fleet — crossed the finish line. His crew members, John Gibson and Andrew Stevenson-Hamilton, performed a mock execution. Wearing a balaclava marked "tactician", dark glasses and tapping a white stick, Gibson emerged through the companionway leading his crewmate on the end of a rope tied around his neck wearing a bag over his head inscribed:

"navigator". The navigational duties fall to the skipper in this race.

Problems began before the start on September 26, when the yacht crossed the starting line before the gun and was given a four-hour penalty. Relations between skipper and crew reached breaking point three weeks ago, when the crew sent an ultimatum to Chay Blyth, the race chairman, stating they would not proceed with Sutherland at the helm.

Once ashore, Jonathan Norton, 24, an insurance broker from London, said: "Will is a nice enough man, but he has no skills as a manager. We just lost all faith in his leadership and ability to take us down into the Southern Ocean on the next leg." The second leg to Hobart starts in 11 days' time.

Sutherland, from Seaford, Sussex, gave up a job as a management training executive to take charge of the yacht, a job which is thought to pay about £12,000 for eight months' work.

Another of the crew, Alison McKichan, 28, a self-employed market researcher from Edinburgh, was also critical. "If anything, I feel sorry for him. But he had such a demoralising effect on us. Any time we were having fun, he would put the dampers on it."

Sutherland was reluctant to talk about

his decision but he later issued a statement which read: "My crew have done admirably and were first-class. I'm pleased that the crew morale is high. I wish Richard Merriweather success in his new position and would be delighted to help him in any way I can."

Commercial Union, the insurance company which paid £225,000 to sponsor the yacht, kept its promise not to make a drama out of a crisis by saying as little as possible. But Kate Whitaker, a spokeswoman for the company whose slogan for the race is "We're behind you all the way", said: "We knew what was going to happen but were not able to tell anyone."

Blyth announced yesterday that Sutherland would be replaced by Richard Merriweather, 27, who flew out here last Saturday. The new skipper, the youngest in the fleet, has more than 60,000 sea miles behind him.

Skipper apart, Norton and McKichan had nothing but praise for the rest of their team, which include a plastic surgeon, two company directors, a solicitor and a suspended ceiling fitter.

FIRST LEG RESULTS (Southampton to Rio de Janeiro): 1. British Steel 1 (P. Taylor, 28 days 22 hours 21 minutes); 2. Commercial Union 2 (S. Sutherland, 38 days 6 hours 14 minutes); 3. British Steel 2 (P. Taylor, 28 days 22 hours 21 minutes); 4. British Steel 3 (P. Taylor, 28 days 22 hours 21 minutes); 5. British Steel 4 (P. Taylor, 28 days 22 hours 21 minutes); 6. British Steel 5 (P. Taylor, 28 days 22 hours 21 minutes); 7. British Steel 6 (P. Taylor, 28 days 22 hours 21 minutes); 8. British Steel 7 (P. Taylor, 28 days 22 hours 21 minutes); 9. British Steel 8 (P. Taylor, 28 days 22 hours 21 minutes); 10. Commercial Union 1 (W. Sutherland, 37 days 22 hours).

S Africa prompt rush for tickets

ENGLAND'S rugby union international against South Africa on Saturday, November 14, has prompted the biggest rush for tickets that Twickenham has experienced.

Richard Ankersen, the Rugby Football Union's ticket officer, who has worked in the Twickenham office for almost two decades, said: "I can't remember anything like it before. We've had ticket applications from all over the globe, including countries like Sweden and Czechoslovakia."

More than £2 million has already been returned to disappointed ticket applicants throughout Britain. It is reported that a ticket can fetch £350 on the black market.

Gate receipts for the match, South Africa's first international here in 23 years, will be almost £1.1 million — equaling the record figure for the England-Australia World Cup final last November.

Twickenham officials were relieved to learn yesterday that the capacity for the game will be 54,500 after receiving the go-ahead to sell an extra 10,000 tickets for places in the newly-completed East Stand.

A near sell-out crowd of 14,000 is expected at Welford Road, Leicester, today for the South Africans' match with the Midlands Division.

S Africans start, page 36

Warrington may press for enquiry

MARK Jones, the Hull rugby league player, could be reported over an alleged stamping incident last Sunday in which the Warrington captain, Bob Jackson, narrowly avoided losing of an eye (Christopher Irvine writes).

Warrington say they have video evidence and are considering putting it before the Rugby Football League's disciplinary committee.

"It looks like a deliberate kick. The specialist said Bob came within an eighth of an inch of losing his eye," Ron Close, Warrington's general manager, said yesterday.

Jones is due to appear before the committee today to explain why he later threw a punch at Gary Tees, the Warrington forward.

YOUR HEALTH WORRIES — WHO REALLY KNOWS BEST?

Do you trust yourself, or even your doctor, to know best when it comes to your own health? The fact is, every year, many thousands of people make vitally important decisions about the way they live — even on medical advice — and get it wrong.

BRAIN DAMAGE
Do you know anyone who refused the whooping cough vaccine for a child because of fears of brain damage?

FACT: The risks of vaccination are far less than the dangers of having whooping cough.

MISCONCEPTION
You may have worried about the risk of miscarriage for women who work with computer screens.

FACT: To date there is no evidence of any increased risk.

INCONTINENCE
30% of women over 60 suffer from a weak bladder. Most people think there's no solution.

FACT: 50% of sufferers can achieve "significant improvement" from a self-help approach.

VITAMIN OVERDOSE
Perhaps you take vitamin supplements. Most people think you can't take too much.

FACT: Too much of some of these can be dangerous.

A LONG LIST OF CONCERNS
What about migraines, glass cut, panic attacks, smoking, cystitis,

HEALTH MATTERS
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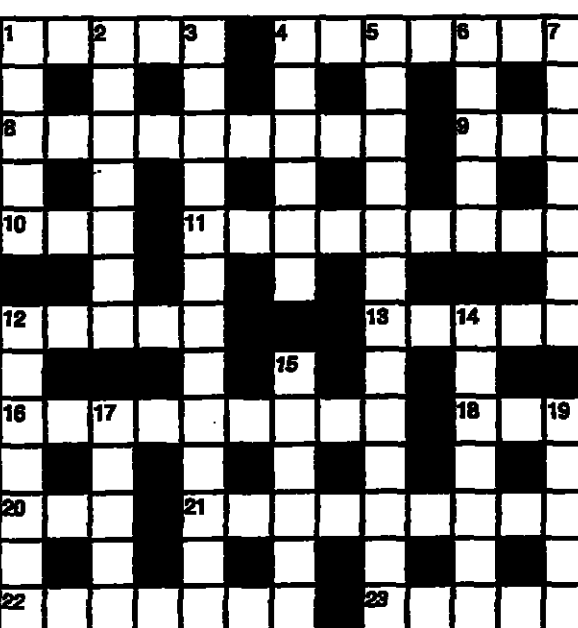
Please send me the next 2 issues of Health Matters FREE.

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CONCISE CROSSWORD NO 2936



ACROSS

- 1 Unchained (5)
- 4 Learned person (7)
- 8 Senior doctor (9)
- 9 Work-out room (3)
- 10 Expense (3)
- 11 Musicians group (9)
- 12 Short jacket (5)
- 13 Lie (5)
- 15 Skins, blossoms (9)
- 16 Cat foot underpart (3)
- 18 Youth's firebrand (3)
- 21 Stock list (9)
- 22 Injuries compensation (7)

DOWN

- 2 Inclination (5)
- 3 Passenger charges (5)
- 5 Insult (7)
- 6 Off-punting (13)
- 7 HR (6)
- 9 Conkers tree (5, 8)
- 10 Lawful (5)
- 11 Unrestrained (7)
- 12 Trials area (7)
- 14 Make better (7)
- 15 Staffs (6)
- 17 Old Testament song (5)
- 19 Woods nymph (5)

SOLUTION TO NO 2935

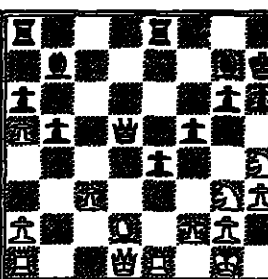
ACROSS: 1 Spider 5 Sit ups 8 Holy 9 Forelock 10 Reader 12 Rope 15 Pantomime 16 Aria 17 Step in 19 White out 21 Pier 22 Stocky 23 Digest

DOWN: 2 Propeller 3 Dry 4 Refrained 5 Sack 6 Tolerance 7 Pea 11 Fantastic 13 Pantomime 14 Poland 18 Copy 20 Hot 21 Pig

By Raymond Keene, Chess Correspondent

This position is a possible variation from Fischer — Spassky, Svet Stefan (Game 7) 1992. Although white is a piece up, black has many threats such as 1...g5 and 1...e3. How can white alleviate the dangers and emerge with a winning ending?

Solution below.



Solution: White plays 1. Qxg6, forcing black to capture the queen with 1...fxg6. White then plays 2. Nf5, threatening 3. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 2...fxg6. White then plays 3. Nxe7, threatening 4. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 3...fxg6. White then plays 4. Nf5, threatening 5. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 4...fxg6. White then plays 5. Nxe7, threatening 6. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 5...fxg6. White then plays 6. Nf5, threatening 7. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 6...fxg6. White then plays 7. Nxe7, threatening 8. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 7...fxg6. White then plays 8. Nf5, threatening 9. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 8...fxg6. White then plays 9. Nxe7, threatening 10. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 9...fxg6. White then plays 10. Nf5, threatening 11. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 10...fxg6. White then plays 11. Nxe7, threatening 12. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 11...fxg6. White then plays 12. Nf5, threatening 13. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 12...fxg6. White then plays 13. Nxe7, threatening 14. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 13...fxg6. White then plays 14. Nf5, threatening 15. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 14...fxg6. White then plays 15. Nxe7, threatening 16. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 15...fxg6. White then plays 16. Nf5, threatening 17. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 16...fxg6. White then plays 17. Nxe7, threatening 18. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 17...fxg6. White then plays 18. Nf5, threatening 19. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 18...fxg6. White then plays 19. Nxe7, threatening 20. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 19...fxg6. White then plays 20. Nf5, threatening 21. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 20...fxg6. White then plays 21. Nxe7, threatening 22. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 21...fxg6. White then plays 22. Nf5, threatening 23. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 22...fxg6. White then plays 23. Nxe7, threatening 24. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 23...fxg6. White then plays 24. Nf5, threatening 25. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 24...fxg6. White then plays 25. Nxe7, threatening 26. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 25...fxg6. White then plays 26. Nf5, threatening 27. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 26...fxg6. White then plays 27. Nxe7, threatening 28. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 27...fxg6. White then plays 28. Nf5, threatening 29. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 28...fxg6. White then plays 29. Nxe7, threatening 30. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 29...fxg6. White then plays 30. Nf5, threatening 31. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 30...fxg6. White then plays 31. Nxe7, threatening 32. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 31...fxg6. White then plays 32. Nf5, threatening 33. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 32...fxg6. White then plays 33. Nxe7, threatening 34. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 33...fxg6. White then plays 34. Nf5, threatening 35. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 34...fxg6. White then plays 35. Nxe7, threatening 36. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 35...fxg6. White then plays 36. Nf5, threatening 37. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 36...fxg6. White then plays 37. Nxe7, threatening 38. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 37...fxg6. White then plays 38. Nf5, threatening 39. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 38...fxg6. White then plays 39. Nxe7, threatening 40. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 39...fxg6. White then plays 40. Nf5, threatening 41. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 40...fxg6. White then plays 41. Nxe7, threatening 42. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 41...fxg6. White then plays 42. Nf5, threatening 43. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 42...fxg6. White then plays 43. Nxe7, threatening 44. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 43...fxg6. White then plays 44. Nf5, threatening 45. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 44...fxg6. White then plays 45. Nxe7, threatening 46. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 45...fxg6. White then plays 46. Nf5, threatening 47. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 46...fxg6. White then plays 47. Nxe7, threatening 48. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 47...fxg6. White then plays 48. Nf5, threatening 49. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 48...fxg6. White then plays 49. Nxe7, threatening 50. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 49...fxg6. White then plays 50. Nf5, threatening 51. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 50...fxg6. White then plays 51. Nxe7, threatening 52. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 51...fxg6. White then plays 52. Nf5, threatening 53. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 52...fxg6. White then plays 53. Nxe7, threatening 54. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 53...fxg6. White then plays 54. Nf5, threatening 55. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 54...fxg6. White then plays 55. Nxe7, threatening 56. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 55...fxg6. White then plays 56. Nf5, threatening 57. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 56...fxg6. White then plays 57. Nxe7, threatening 58. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 57...fxg6. White then plays 58. Nf5, threatening 59. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 58...fxg6. White then plays 59. Nxe7, threatening 60. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 59...fxg6. White then plays 60. Nf5, threatening 61. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 60...fxg6. White then plays 61. Nxe7, threatening 62. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 61...fxg6. White then plays 62. Nf5, threatening 63. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 62...fxg6. White then plays 63. Nxe7, threatening 64. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 63...fxg6. White then plays 64. Nf5, threatening 65. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 64...fxg6. White then plays 65. Nxe7, threatening 66. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 65...fxg6. White then plays 66. Nf5, threatening 67. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 66...fxg6. White then plays 67. Nxe7, threatening 68. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 67...fxg6. White then plays 68. Nf5, threatening 69. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 68...fxg6. White then plays 69. Nxe7, threatening 70. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 69...fxg6. White then plays 70. Nf5, threatening 71. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 70...fxg6. White then plays 71. Nxe7, threatening 72. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 71...fxg6. White then plays 72. Nf5, threatening 73. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 72...fxg6. White then plays 73. Nxe7, threatening 74. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 73...fxg6. White then plays 74. Nf5, threatening 75. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 74...fxg6. 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Black must capture the knight with 85...fxg6. White then plays 86. Nf5, threatening 87. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 86...fxg6. White then plays 87. Nxe7, threatening 88. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 87...fxg6. White then plays 88. Nf5, threatening 89. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 88...fxg6. White then plays 89. Nxe7, threatening 90. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 89...fxg6. White then plays 90. Nf5, threatening 91. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 90...fxg6. White then plays 91. Nxe7, threatening 92. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 91...fxg6. White then plays 92. Nf5, threatening 93. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 92...fxg6. White then plays 93. Nxe7, threatening 94. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 93...fxg6. White then plays 94. Nf5, threatening 95. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 94...fxg6. White then plays 95. Nxe7, threatening 96. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 95...fxg6. White then plays 96. Nf5, threatening 97. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 96...fxg6. White then plays 97. Nxe7, threatening 98. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 97...fxg6. White then plays 98. Nf5, threatening 99. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 98...fxg6. White then plays 99. Nxe7, threatening 100. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 99...fxg6. White then plays 100. Nf5, threatening 101. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 100...fxg6. White then plays 101. Nxe7, threatening 102. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 101...fxg6. White then plays 102. Nf5, threatening 103. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 102...fxg6. White then plays 103. Nxe7, threatening 104. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 103...fxg6. White then plays 104. Nf5, threatening 105. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 104...fxg6. White then plays 105. Nxe7, threatening 106. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 105...fxg6. White then plays 106. Nf5, threatening 107. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 106...fxg6. White then plays 107. Nxe7, threatening 108. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 107...fxg6. White then plays 108. Nf5, threatening 109. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 108...fxg6. White then plays 109. Nxe7, threatening 110. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 109...fxg6. White then plays 110. Nf5, threatening 111. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 110...fxg6. White then plays 111. Nxe7, threatening 112. Nf5. Black must capture the knight with 111...fxg6. White then plays 112. Nf5, threatening 113. Nxe7. Black must capture the knight with 112...fxg6. White then plays 113. Nxe7, threatening